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THE

Freethinker's CRITERIA *Exemplified,*

IN A

VINDICATION

Of the CHARACTERS of

M. TULLIUS CICERO

AND THE

Late DUKE of MARLBOROUGH,

Against the CENSURE of

The late LORD BOLINGBROKE.

.....

Price One Shilling and Six Pence.

The Reader is desired to correct the following Mistakes.

P. 11. Note, L. 18. after *surprising*, insert *and pillaging*. P. 20. N. for † *ib.* r. † *Miscell. Observ.* P. 28. L. 20. for *as great*, read *great*. P. 40. L. 6. add, *So that here again is careless Reading, or wilful Misrepresentation.* P. 41. L. 7. after *Burlesque*, insert † and in N. † *Let. Hist.* p. 24. P. 45. L. 5. for *Governors*, read *the Governor*. P. 46. L. 20. after *Strength*, insert *one of which he could no more trust than the other.* P. 48. L. 8. after *great*, insert *in general.* P. 70. L. 19. for *used*, read *done*. P. 75. Note, L. 4. for *were*, read *was*. P. 78. L. 24. for *Object*, read *Effect*. P. 87. Note, for ἀμορπον, ἀν— read ἀμορπον, ἀν—. P. 90. Note, L. 4. for ἀτυπον, read ἀτυπον. P. 100. L. 17. for *all*, read *any*. P. 105. L. 25. *dele* ”.



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M. TULLIUS CICERO
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Late DUKE of MARLBOROUGH,
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By PHILOLOGUS CANTABRIGIENSIS.

Nil admirari.

Motto to Etching of Lord BOLINGBROKE.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. OWEN, at *Homer's* Head,
near *Temple-Bar*.

M.DCC.LV.

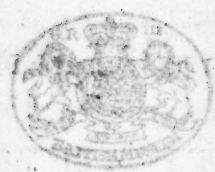
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THE
INTRODUCTION.

SOME time since there appeared, under the Title of MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS ON THE WORKS OF THE LATE LORD BOLINGBROKE, AND THE SEVERAL ANSWERS, &c. BY A FREETHINKER, the First Part of a Pamphlet, so *equivocal* that the Town is not agreed either what the *Design* of it is, or even on *which Side* of the Question it is written, or indeed in scarce any thing about it but this, in which all here concur (and I think we may be allowed to know our own Marks), that it comes from no CLERICAL Hand.

It is said to be an *artful* Piece ; but to talk of the *Art*, without knowing the *End* of it, seems to be as true *Hibernian*, as to praise a Man for being a good Marksman, without knowing what was his Mark. Now as the

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End

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End of the Writer does not appear in the *First Part*, 'tis probable it will not till the *Last*; nor the Design perhaps be seen, till it be too late to be obviated. For as to one Instance of its Art, that the very Title of FREETHINKER is only designed to *draw in L. B's Friends to read it*, I can very easily admit that the Design of it is to DRAW IN; but must be allowed to hesitate whether it be not his *Enemies as well as Friends*. For the Title which the Writer has assumed, of *Free-thinker*, he would have pass for no more than a Translation, in *one Word*, of a *Line* in *Horace's Ethic Epistles*, where the philosophizing Bard characterizes himself at setting out,

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,

And accordingly has taken care, in his very First Paragraph, to give out what he would have his *Freedom of Thought* appear to be; *Freedom*, forsooth, from *all Prejudice* to either Side. This is the Character which he every-where, to a Degree of Affectation, endeavours to set to View. Hence he sometimes *blames*, and sometimes *laughs at*, the Writers against *L. B.* and sometimes at

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L. B. himself, as *Impartiality* and *free Examination*; is sometimes *serious*, sometimes *ironical*, as the *Subjects* may seem to require; for so he would have it thought. So that he affects to be of *both* Sides; that is, indeed, of *neither*. Now, why all this Parade of *Impartiality* and *free Inquiry*, if it be not the Design of the Parade to DRAW IN? I will give my Reasons for this Suspicion, and leave the Reader to judge.

In the First place then, he never *rails* at L. B. is never angry, but always *laughs*; not with the *Horse-laugh of Insult*, but with such a *placid gentle Smile*, that 'tis plain he is in *good Humour* all the while. His Lordship's Friends laugh with him, as a Friend of their own, and acknowledge the Foible, without being angry at the Man who observed it. When he ridicules any Slips of the NOBLE AUTHOR, he does it in so decent and respectful a manner, that one cannot but suspect that it *does*, because it *may*, proceed from *personal Respect*, as much as from that Regard to *elevated Rank and Station*; Respect to which indeed is Respect to *Society and the Public*.

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In the next place, I must frankly own, that, in my humble Opinion, there are Reasons for *suspecting* this Freethinker even where he is most serious, when he is in the last Letter laying down *Criteria* on a closer Examination of L. B. For tho' the Encomium of the Third Letter, which, it must be confessed, is but naturally drawn from the *general Appearance*, is shewn in the Fourth to be too great to be implicitly received, and *Examination* is thence inferred; yet what is it? An Examination of the *Man*, rather than the *Opinions*; and why are the *Criteria of the Man* foisted in for the *Criteria of the Opinions*, unless the Design be at last to palm upon us the *Authority of the one* instead of the *Truth of the other*? And why may not L. B. be made to appear, tho' not without his Foibles, and not so great on a particular Examination as on the general View; yet great enough, by the artful Selecting of proper Particulars, to establish his *Authority* with the unwary Reader, lulled into Security by the Ridicule of little Particulars, and specious Pretence of great Impartiality and free Examination, on such a Foundation as to be impregnable to Reasoning after? Thus, by the Artifice of substituting

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tuting the *Examination of the Man, for the Opinion*, all Examination of the Truth of the Opinions may be eluded, and L. B's Dogmata be placed on the only Foot, indeed on which they can stand, the *Authority of his Name*. And if so, the Writer will be allowed to have made good the Claim to his Title; and to be really the *Freethinker* he keeps out of Sight, instead of what he sets to View.

Under these Suspicions, and with a kind of Impatience to try the Effect of these *Criteria*, I resolved on the Examination of some Part of L. B's Works, according to the Plan of the Freethinker's Fourth Letter. In order the better to answer this Purpose, it was necessary, for my own sake, that it should not be too long, and, for the sake of the Design itself, that it should be as near a *Whole* as possible. To answer these Purposes, this Part of the Second Letter on *History*, which contains his Lordship's Censure on *Tully* and the late Duke of *Marlborough*, occurred to me, as of a suitable Length, and as episodical as one could wish; for it may be taken out of the Letter, and the general Business in Hand go on, as well with-

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without it as with it. The Result I have laid before the Public; that if the Freethinker in his Second Part, which possibly waits for the Whole of some much-expected Answers to the new Works, should intend foul Play, and select some *Parcels* from the Hero's Works, on which his Authority may be established, the insidious Design might in some measure be obviated, by shewing that there are other Parts to be opposed to this; and that such an Appearance is not uniform, and consequently no *Authority* can be established thereon.

Tho' the Subject be not extensive enough for some of the Freethinker's *Criteria* to take Place, yet, short as it is, it will afford Room for the Application of most of them; more indeed than I thought possible, till I came to try. And perhaps the very Shortness of the Specimen, as it will exhibit an Application of the *Criteria* in a lesser Compass, and so bring them into a nearer and clearer View, will, by the Advantage it will have in that respect, of a more diffused and complicated Examination, make amends for its Deficiency in Point of Extent.

Nor

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Nor is the Subject trivial in itself. Mankind is interested in the Truth of the Characters of great Men, *deceased* as well as *present*. They naturally engage our Curiosity; and the Justness of Historical Reflections often depends on the Justness of the Characters of those that are concerned in the Subject of them.



between

A
VINDICATION
 OF THE
Characters of M. TULLIUS CICERO and
the late DUKE of MARLBOROUGH,
 AGAINST
 The Censure of LORD BOLINGBROKE.

S E C T. I.

THE Text of Lord *Bolingbroke*, proposed to be examined by the Free-thinker's *Criteria*, will be seen below, which will be at hand for the Reader to consult occasionally, after having given it a previous Reading.

Just

On Study and Use of History, Lett. II. p. 22. " I
 " have insisted a little the longer on this Head, and
 C " have

Just before P. 20. he comes in course to One of his Uses of History, which is *the preparing us for Experience before we come into the World, and accompanying us in it.* He takes an Opportunity here to *distinguish* between

“ have made these Distinctions (p. 20, 21.), the rather,
 “ because tho’ I attribute a great deal more than many
 “ will be ready to allow, to the Study of History; yet
 “ I would not willingly seem to fall into the Ridicule of
 “ ascribing to it such extravagant Effects as several have
 “ done, from TULLY down to CASAUBON, LA
 “ MOTHE LE VAYER, and other modern Pedants.
 “ When TULLY informs us, in the Second Book of
 “ his *Tusculan Disputations*, that the First SCIPIO AFRI-
 “ CANUS had always in his Hands the Works of XE-
 “ NOPHON, he advances nothing but what is probable
 “ and reasonable. To say nothing of the Retreat of
 “ the Ten thousand, nor of the other Parts of XENO-
 “ PHON’s Writings, the Images of Virtue represented
 “ in that admirable Picture the *Cyropædia*, were proper
 “ to entertain a Soul that was fraught with Virtue, and
 “ CYRUS was worthy to be imitated by SCIPIO. So
 “ SELIM emulated CÆSAR, whose *Commentaries* were
 “ translated for his Use, against the Custom of the
 “ *Turks*: (P. 23.) So CÆSAR emulated ALEXANDER,
 “ and ALEXANDER ACHILLES. There is nothing ridi-
 “ culous here, except the Use that is made of this Passage
 “ by those who quote it. But what the same TULLY
 “ says in the Fourth Book of his *Academical Disputa-*
 “ *tions*, concerning LUCULLUS, seems to me very ex-
 “ traordinary. *In Asiam factus imperator venit; cum*
 “ *esset Romæ profectus, rei militaris rudis* (one would
 “ be ready to ascribe so sudden a Change, and so vast
 “ an Improvement, to nothing less than Knowledge
 “ infused by Inspiration, if we were not assured in the
 “ same Place that they were effected by very natural
 “ Means,

[II]

between *History*, *Experience*, and *Genius*, with a Clearness that is peculiar to his Distinctions: However this be, we may take his Word for the Truth of what he tells us, in the Beginning of this Paragraph, that he made

“ Means, by such as it in every Man’s Power to employ) *partim percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis*. LUCULLUS, according to this Account, verified the Reproach on the *Roman Nobility*, which SALUST puts into the Mouth of MARIUS. But as I discover the Passion of MARIUS, and his Prejudices to the Patricians in one Case, so I discover, methinks, the Cunning of TULLY, and his Partiality (P. 24.) to himself in the other. LUCULLUS, after he had been chosen Consul obtained by Intrigue the Government of *Cilicia*, and so put himself into a Situation of commanding the *Roman Army* against MITHRIDATES. TULLY had the same Government afterwards; and tho’ he had no MITHRIDATES, nor any other Enemy of Consequence opposed to him, tho’ all his military Feats consisted in surprizing a few Highlanders and wild *Cilicians*, yet he assumed the Air of a Conqueror, and described his Actions in so pompous a Manner, that the Account becomes burlesque. He laughs indeed in one of his Letters to ATTICUS at his generalship; but if we turn to those he wrote to COELIUS RUFUS, and to CATO, upon this Occasion, or to those wherein he expresses to ATTICUS his Resentment against CATO, for not proposing in his favour the Honours usually decreed to Conquerors, we may see how Vanity turned his Head, and how impudently he insisted on obtaining a Triumph. Is it any Strain now to (P. 25.) suppose, that he meant to insinuate in the Passage I have quoted about LUCULLUS, that the Difference between him and the former Governor of *Cilicia*,
C 2 “ even

made the Distinctions of the *last* for the sake of what he has to say in *this*. One might indeed have concluded this to have been intended for the principal Part of it, since 'tis so much longer than all the rest of the Part into

“ even in military Merit, arose from the different Con-
 “ juncture alone? and that LUCULLUS could not have
 “ done in *Cilicia* at that time more than he himself
 “ did? CICERO had read and questioned at least as
 “ much as LUCULLUS, and would therefore have ap-
 “ peared as great a Captain if he had had as great a
 “ Prince as MITHRIDATES to encounter. But the
 “ Truth is, that LUCULLUS was made a great Captain
 “ by Theory and the Study of History alone, no more
 “ than FERDINAND of *Spain*, and ALPHONSUS of
 “ *Naples*, were cured of desperate Distempers by read-
 “ ing LIVY and QUINTUS CURTIUS; a silly Tale
 “ which BODIN, AMYOT, and others, have picked
 “ up and propagated. LUCULLUS had served in his
 “ Youth against the *Marfi*, probably in other Wars,
 “ and SYLLA took early Notice of him: He went into
 “ the East with this General, and had a great Share in
 “ his Confidence. (P. 26.) He commanded in several
 “ Expeditions. It was he who restored the *Colopho-*
 “ *nians* to Liberty, and who punished the revolt of the
 “ People of *Mitylene*. Thus we see that LUCULLUS
 “ was formed by Experience as well as Study, and by
 “ an Experience gained in those very Countries where
 “ he gathered so many Laurels afterwards in fighting
 “ against the same Enemy. The late Duke of MARL-
 “ BOROUGH never read XENOPHON most certainly,
 “ nor the Relation perhaps of any modern Wars; but
 “ he served in his Youth under Monsieur DE TURENNE,
 “ and I have heard that he was taken Notice of in those
 “ early Days by that great Man. He afterwards com-
 “ manded in an Expedition to *Ireland*, served a Cam-
 “ paign

into which it is inserted. The Whole of it is animated with a Spirit of Satire; but what inspired that Spirit, if I mistake not, is the noble Object in the End of it.

I would not willingly even seem to fall into the *Ridicule* "of ascribing to it (History) " such extravagant Effects as several have " done from TULLY down to CASAUBON, " LA MOTHE LE VAYER, and other MODERN PEDANTS." Does the *Ridicule* of

" paign or two, if I mistake not, under King WILLIAM in *Flanders*; and, besides these Occasions, had " none of gaining Experience in War till he came to " the Head of our Armies in Seventeen hundred and " Two, and triumphed, not over *Asiatic* Troops, but " over the veteran Armies of (P. 27.) *France*. The " *Roman* had on his Side Genius and Experience, cultivated by Study: The *Briton* had Genius improved " by Experience, and no more. The First, therefore, " is not an Example of what Study can do alone; but " the latter is an Example of what Genius and Experience can do without Study. They can do much, to " be sure, when the First is given in a superior Degree. " But such Examples are very rare; and when they happen, it will still be true, that they would have had " fewer Blemishes, and would have come nearer to the " Perfection of private and of public Virtue, in all the " Arts of Peace and Atchievements of War; if the " Views of such Men had been ennobled, by acquiring " that Cast of Thought, and that Temper of Mind, " which will grow up and become habitual in every " Man who applies himself early to the Study of History, as the Study of Philosophy, with the Intention " of being wiser and better, without the Affectation of " being more learned."

this

this Period “ carry a GOOD-NATURED HUMOUR WITH IT?” or does it “ abound with Sarcasm*? Supposing us to be entirely unacquainted with the Character of these Writers, and implicitly to form our Idea of them from the masterly Strokes of Lord *Bolingbroke*’s Pen, as here characterized, do we “ ONLY LAUGH” at the Portrait, or does it “ EXCITE IN US A KIND OF ANGRY SCORN?” We have here then the *Freethinker*’s CHARACTERISTIC, and know to which to impute it, to a *good-natured Vanity*, or to PRIDE AND CONTEMPT OF OTHERS†. But still where is the *Dogmatist*, which, according to the Freethinker, is bred out of this malevolent Contempt, as naturally indeed as the Myriads of filthy Inhabitants of the Jakes and putrid Carcase are out of Stench and Corruption. His Lordship here dogmatizes only with regard to the *modern Pedants*; *Causabon* and *Le Vayer*, who are below any other Notice from him; but as it is the first time that the *antient Pedant Tully* has been honoured with that Title, instead of the usual one, the *Roman Orator*, he has so much Condescension for

* Miscellaneous Observations, p. 98.

† Ib. p. 95.

the Prejudices of the Public, as to prove at large his Right to the Title here given him.

S E C T. II.

THE Reader will excuse me, I am sure, if I do myself the Honour of becoming here a Commentator of so great a Man, and endeavour to elucidate the SHORT DOGMATISM on these *unfortunate Moderns*, who have fallen under his Pen. *La Mothe le Vayer* was a professed Sceptic; *Casaubon* understood *Greek* as well as any Man of his Age, and was a professed Critic in it. Was *Le Vayer* a *Pedant* because he was a *Sceptic*, or *Casaubon* because he *understood Greek*? Scarce the former, I believe, tho' his Lordship holds the Sceptics in great Contempt: But as he oftentimes uses the Term SCHOLAR, as synonymous to PEDANT, and seems to mean by *Scholar* the Man that understands *Greek*, I should have been apt to think that he might here, as he held the *Man* in the same Disdain as the *Language*, have PEDANTED *Casaubon* as such, did not the Occasion plainly determine the Censure to the Subject of *History*. 'Tis certain they have
dared

dared to write on the Subject his Lordship has written, tho' *before him*, of the Uses of History. *Le Vayer* on History I have not, and must therefore be forced here to leave him. The Piece which our Author has in view of *Casaubon*, with which he was *well acquainted*, is the celebrated Dedication of his *Polybius* to his Patron, and who indeed had set him on the Work, *Henry* the Fourth of *France*. It is a Panegyric on History, as well as on the Prince, who had furnished so much Subject for it, and has borne the Character of a finish'd Piece of the Kind. 'Tis certain, however, that, with respect to Stile, it falls greatly short of the Ease and Dignity of Lord *Bolingbroke*. Now, tho' it would have been more humane to have spared a Man venerable for his Learning, and not less for his Modesty, notwithstanding he did not write so well as Lord *Bolingbroke*; yet I should not have wondered, if piqued at Praises, which he thought he himself better deserved, he should have treated an affected Stile with a little Acrimony. But his Lordship's Censure is not founded on Pedantry of Stile, but, by his express Words, limited to *ascribing to History extravagant Effects*; and, in particular, that *the Study of History,*
without

without Experience is sufficient *. But this is the very thing which *Casaubon* has said before him, with only this Difference, that he does, with more Precision than his Lordship, shew what Part of *Prudence* History can teach as well as Experience, what Part it cannot †. Lord *Bolingbroke* says, “ I am “ far from contending that History is preferable to Experience; I think upon the “ Whole otherwise.” *Casaubon* says rather more: *Est quidem, fateor, illa quæ---actu colligitur experientia, aliquanto efficacior ‡*, it makes a deeper Impression. “ But this I “ say,” continues the noble Censurer, “ that “ the former is necessary to prepare us for “ the latter ||.” And what *Casaubon* subjoins, speaks, besides a great deal more, the same thing. How is it then that the good Man, when he has said no more than our Author himself, has raised our Author’s Bile? Why, besides the Credit which this much-praised Piece had obtained, the *modern Pedant* has been so extravagant as to believe what the *ancient Pedant* hath said of *Lucullus*; and hath besides, not knowing that a distinguished Genius would arise some Generations after,

* P. 20.

† *Ib.* p. 6.‡ *Dedicat. edit. Gron. 8vo, p. 6, 7.*|| *Letters on Hist. p. 20.*

which would adopt the same Sentiments with some of that Age, bestowed Two or Three severe Reflections on those who preferred *Tacitus* to his *Polybius*, tho' he pays due Homage to *Tacitus* himself. These are *Casaubon's* Crimes, these raised our noble Author's Indignation, or at least these are to me the only assignable Causes. If it was the First, Indignation at a Man for having distinguished himself on a Subject in which we hope to shine ourselves, is MEAN LOW ENVY; nor can there be any doubt whether "*Truth or Fame be such a Man's Object **." Indeed it can have no Place but in the Mind, which is carried into Extravagance by an extravagant "Passion for figuring it, according "to his Lordship's Expression as an Author †," and, in proportion to the Extravagance of the Passion, will be the Effects of it. If either of the other Two was the Cause; to scorn a Man because he does not agree with us in *all* Points, tho' he does in most, or because he does not *see* quite so far as we imagine we ourselves see; or to treat him with *Sarcasm*, because he has happened, without knowing our Sentiments, to censure

* Miscellaneous Observations, p. 94.
p. 92.

* Ibid.
what

what we are fond of, can only be resolved into that Pride, which forms the Character of a Writer in whom "the *Representations* " of Persons and Things will not be according to their Nature, but according to the " Degree of *Approbation* or *Dislike* which " they happen to have with him*;" and consequently Lord *Bolingbroke* must, as far as I can perceive, incur the Freethinker's Censure of "being a Writer who is so far from meriting any *Attention as a Guide*, that he becomes a just Object of *Indignation* as a Man †."

I know not how our noble Author can escape this Censure, but by falling under another of the Freethinker's *Characteristics*, of that "*Art and Address*," by which one of his Geniuses of the First Class, carried away with a Passion for the *New and Uncommon in Literature*, "*makes a little Learning go a great way* ‡." It is true, that *Cassaubon* here struck the First Blow, tho' by Accident in the dark; no wonder, therefore, if a Man of his Lordship's *Spirit* returned it. But I am more at a loss to account for the Practice of this great Genius, in *breaking a Man's Head, in Return for his borrowing*

* Ib. p. 96.

† Ib. p. 97.

‡ Ib. p. 96.

from him, unless it be on this Principle of *Art and Address*. He seems to act on the Policy of old SATURNINO, with whom it is a Maxim to abuse the Man he is obliged to, lest he should be suspected of being under Obligations to him. 'Tis certain, however, that our Author has here been making the most of Things: For what follows for Two Pages together, and seems original diffused Reading of the *Antients*, is all borrowed from a Page or two of Two *Moderns*, whom he treats with sovereign Contempt, at the same time that he struts in their Plumage; and when they have got their own again, Lord *Bolingbroke*, among the Critics, will make much such another Figure as the Daw of *Phædrus* among the Peacocks. *Tully's* Account of *Scipio* and *Lucullus*, and the Reproach of *Marius* on the Roman Nobility, tho' it carries the Face of Familiarity with *Cicero* and *Salust*, is all borrowed, even to the very Words of *Tully*, from a Page and a half of the same Pedant ISAAC CASAUBON, in the same Dedication*. It must be owned, however, that our Author did here, more than he did in *Pliny*†, that he looked into the Place quoted, and has given us the

* Ib. p. 11, 12.

† Ib. p. 33, &c.

Words of *Tully* to a tittle: But here too, tho' he conceals the *degrading* Name he borrows from, he has left the Footsteps of the Plagiary too plain to make it a Question, where he has been. The Expression, too forced to be natural to Lord *Bolingbroke*, *Scipio's Soul was fraught with Virtue*, smells of the Exotic, and is indeed no bad Translation of *Scipionis incoctum generoso pectus honesto*, there cited; and what *Marius's* Reproach in *Salust*, related as in Epitome in our Author, refers to, may be seen at large in the same Page of *Casaubon*. Who, that is not acquainted with Lord *Bolingbroke's* *Address*, when he sees *BODIN* and *AMYOT* mentioned as a Couple of *filly* Fellows *, would suspect that he had, on other Occasions, just before been getting a little Learning from one, and was just going to get a little more from the other? For what he in the very next Period begins to give us, in Lie to *Cicero*, is all taken from *AMYOT's* Translation of *Plutarch's* Life of *Lucullus*; as what he has of *SELIM*, *CÆSAR*, *ALEXANDER*, and *ACHILLES*, interwoven in the *Casauboniana* of the Two First Pages, is from *BODIN's* *Proœm* to his *Method of History*. Our

* Lett. on Hist. p. 25.

Author indeed owns something taken from some body, whom he requites with a *Lash en passant*: "There is nothing ridiculous here except the Use that is made of *this* Passage by those who quote it." *This* Passage---*this last*, or *that before*, or *this and that too*? For *Bodin* has *this* of *Selim*, and *that* of *Scipio*, and *Casaubon* only *that*. The Reason that the *Expression* of our Author is a little embarrassed, seems to be, that he is a little embarrassed about concealing the Company he had been keeping. And as to the Uses they make, either of one Passage or the other, it is the very same as his Lordship makes of them, to shew the Use of History; for he here admits the Facts, tho' he does not those of *Lucullus*, *Ferdinand*, and *Alphonfus*. As to the other Particulars borrowed from *Casaubon* or *Amyot*, they are not covered from the Charge of Plagiarism by any one *saving* Expression.

This is a sufficient Proof, I think, so much occurring in so little Compass, not only that Lord *Bolingbroke's antient Learning* is drawn from *modern Fountains*, and that he comes under the Freethinker's Mark of "*making a little Learning go a great way*;" but that the *Authority* of his Facts rests often on an
 Autho-

Authority he himself despises, and consequently, that where-ever he does not tell us whose it is, it is of no Authority at all; it has not even his own. Instead of the great *General Lord Bolingbroke* himself, we may have it only on the Word of one of his *Pickaxe* and *Spademen**, a *Vossius*, a *Casaubon*, or even an *Amyot*, or *Bodin*.

S E C T. III.

BUT let us leave these paltry *Moderns* to his Lordship's angry Scorn, and proceed to one of the greatest Names of Antiquity, to M. TULLIUS CICERO, a Man to whom Lord *Bolingbroke* himself in other Places defers so much. HE was certainly, whatever his courteous and exact Translator Mr. *Gutbrie* says of him, ABOVE CONTEMPT. His Rank in Life was at least equal to Lord *Bolingbroke's* own. He was as great an Orator as Lord *Bolingbroke*, and made no less a Figure as a Statesman in the *Roman Senate* than Lord *Bolingbroke* did in the *British*. He indeed was dead, and so is Lord *Bolingbroke* now. These are all Motives to a Man of Politeness, as Lord *Bolingbroke* was, to a

* *Miscell. Observations*, p. 36.

decent and *polite* Treatment; and certainly the Passion which must determine a Man to the *contrary* to this, must be strong indeed, to be too strong for all these. Let us then take a View of the Treatment of him.

We have already seen the noble Cenfor, with Scorn, turning him out among the PEDANTS; for *Casaubon* and *Le Vayer* would never have been dubb'd *modern* Pedants, had not the Honour of *antient* Pedant been design'd for *Cicero*: But we shall soon see that Lord *Bolingbroke* knows how to *distinguish* Persons; and that, in proportion to his *Distinctions*, *Cicero* is treated with *distinguished* Contumely. His Lordship has DISCOVERED, in the Story of *Lucullus*, the CUNNING of *Cicero* *---The Truth is, there's no Truth in the whole Story †---VANITY HAD TURNED HIS HEAD ‡; and 'tis certain it has turn'd many a good one beside.---“HE DESCRIBES
“ HIS ACTIONS, like a Man whose Head is
“ turn'd, IN SO POMPOUS A MANNER THAT
“ THE ACCOUNT BECOMES BURLESQUE ||.” His Lordship modestly tells us, that “*he*
“ IMPUDENTLY *insisted on a Triumph* §.” How lucky was it for this *cunning, lying,*

* Letters on Hist. p. 23. at Bottom. † Ib. p. 25,
26. ‡ Ib. p. 24. at Bottom. || Ib. § Ib.

mad, impudent, Man, Tully's Fame, that none of the Emulators and Detractors of his own, and the following Age, found this out; that it escaped *Calvus, Asinius Pollio*, and his Son *Gallus*, and all the venal Train of Court Flatterers, and Sect of enervate *Atticists**; and indeed all the Critics of those, and of every Age since; but the *Glory* was reserved for the ORNAMENT of ours. His Lordship indeed seems to make some Account of it himself, as he went out of the Way to make it; and it must be curious to trace the critical ἀρχινοια (to make use of the critical Term) of so great a Genius, in the Specimen he has been pleased to leave us of the *Sagacity*, the *Exactness*, and the general Turn of his Critiques.

Tho' this be no "*Grand Scheme*," but an *occasional Discovery*; yet it "*shews Penetration*," something "*new and uncommon*;" something, undiscovered by any Man before, is struck out, and affords so far a Specimen too of his Distinction, above the common Herd of Critics, when he condescends to the Work. Now, tho' we cannot here with any Reason expect, that "*Rapi-*

* Quint. l. xii. c. 1, 10. and Sueton. l. v. c. 41.

“dity of Genius, and Impetuosity †,” which are the Attendants of a Genius of the First Class, on some grand Scheme of Fame, as there is not Fuel enough to put the Passion for it in a Blaze, unless the Passion be immoderate indeed ; yet 'tis possible it may afford us some Traces to investigate by the “*impartial, scrupulous Inquiry* §,” Whether the Discovery be owing to *Truth*, or only Passion for the *New*. Tho' the Subject be not of such “an Extent, that *Inconsistence*” can reasonably be expected in it ; yet probably we may be able, from the *Exactness* of the Criticism, from the *Colouring*, the *Accuracy* of the Reading, the *Diligence* of the Examination, to descry the Characteristics of the subdued, or indulg'd Imagination, of the Man of Judgment, who *may* be, or the Man of mere Genius, who *cannot* be, relied on for a Guide *.

Passing from those Facts, “ in which “ there is nothing ridiculous, but the Use “ that is made of them,” common indeed to his Lordship with those who quote them, and which he allows to be authentic, to the

† Miscel. Obs. p. 93.

§ Ib. p. 94.

* Ib. p. 89, &c.

Story of *Lucullus*, he continues “ What
 “ *Tully* says, in the Fourth Book of his Aca-
 “ demical Disputations, seems to be very
 “ extraordinary; *Partim percunctando a pe-*
 “ *ritis, partim rebus gestis legendis, in Asiam*
 “ *factus imperator venit; cum esset Roma*
 “ *profectus rei militaris rudis* *.” Here
 ’tis that the sagacious Critic thinks, that he
 has DISCOVERED the *Cunning of Tully, and*
his Partiality to himself. But what has the
 Story of *Lucullus* to do with *Tully*? His
 Lordship’s Discovery, I dare say, will ap-
 pear as *extraordinary* to every *common* Read-
 er, as *Tully’s* Story of *Lucullus* appears to his
 Lordship: But Lord *Bolingbroke* is no com-
 mon Writer, nor his Sagacity of the com-
 mon Standard. ’Tis thus that *Tully’s* Ac-
 count of *Lucullus* relates to himself. *Lu-*
cullus had the same Government of *Cilicia*,
 which *Tully* had afterward: *Lucullus* had
 triumphed for the Exploits done during his
 Government; *Tully* would for the Atchiev-
 ments of his: But *Lucullus* had, as every
 one knew, conquered whole Nations, and
 broke the Power of one of the most formi-
 dable Enemies the *Romans* ever had; where-
 as all “ *the military Feats of Tully,*” (his

* Letters on Hist. p. 23.

Lordship chooses the School-boys Name, instead of the proper Distinction of the Family, *Cicero*; I use it after him), “ consisted in surprizing and pillaging a Parcel “ of *Higblanders*, and wild *Cilicians* ;” and yet “ he impudently insisted on obtaining a “ Triumph *.” Undoubtedly, as his Lordship most justly concludes from THESE Premises, Vanity had turned the Man’s head. This was *Partiality to Himself* with a Witness: But still where was the *Cunning* of all this? Why that lies in his Account of the *Means*, by which *Lucullus* got his military Skill, by *reading* and *questioning*. It was notorious, that, let *Tully’s* military Skill have been greater or less than that of *Lucullus*, it was got in the same manner as *Lucullus* got his. Here therefore was *Tully’s Finesse*—I have indeed the same Government, as *Lucullus* had; I have done as great Things as *Lucullus* did; but it will be *said*, not *as great*, not *so great*, as to deserve the Triumph he obtained — What then am I to do to remove this Objection? — Why to shew the World that I *deserve* it, as well as he, tho’ I have not *done* so much as he.—But how?—By making them believe, that I

* Ib. p. 24.

got *my Skill*, which no-body knew before, in the same *manner* he did; and therefore it *may* be as great; and, consequently, if I had the same Opportunities, I *might* have done as much; — and then it will be concluded, of course, that, because my military Merit *may* be as great as his, it *is* as great; and that I *should* have done as much as he, because I *might* have done, and, if I *could* have done it, I ought to be rewarded, as if I *had* done it. And, what is still *more extraordinary*, he does what no Man, with such Views, besides himself, could have done; instead of saying *nothing* of the GREATNESS of the Actions of *Lucullus*, to speak of which was plainly to speak *against* himself, he says as *much* of them, in a few Periods after that quoted by his Lordship, as if he was speaking *for* himself*; and, in order the more effectually to stop every mouth from opening against *his own* Triumph, he puts them in mind, that it was Three Years, after the Time he

* *Tantus ergo imperator in omni genere belli fuit, præliis, oppugnationibus, navalibus pugnis, totiusque belli instrumentis et apparatu, ut ille rex (Mithridates) post Alexandrum maximus hunc a se majorem ducem cognitum, quam quemquam eorum, quos legisset, fatebatur. In eodem tanta prudentia fuit in constituendis temperandisque civitatibus, tanta æquitas, ut hodie stet Asia Luculli institutis servandis, et quasi vestigiis persequendis.*

ought,

ought, that *Lucullus*, with all his Merits, and all his Conquests, could obtain *His* *. Now, all this put together speaks so *fine* a *Finesse*, as surely no Man but a *Tully* could have first *struck* out, or a *Bolingbroke* afterwards *find* out.

But what mars the whole *Cunning* of this, is, what our Critic proceeds in the next Place to shew, that the *Fact*, on which this *refined Stroke of Policy* is built, that *Lucullus* had as little military Skill before he was sent into *Cilicia*, as *Cicero* had, is all, gentle Reader, in plain Terms — a Lie — a Lie too, which every Man in *Rome*, who could remember what was in every Man's Mouth a dozen Years before, must know to be so. For *Cicero's* Government of *Cilicia* was just so many Years after the Triumph of *Lucullus* § ; of the former Circumstances of

* *Cum victor à Mithridatico bello revertisset, inimicorum calumnia triennio tardius quam debuerit triumphavit. Nos enim consules introduximus pæne in urbem currum clarissimi viri.*

§ *Lucullus* triumphed in the former Part of the Year of *Cicero's* Consulship. Compare *Cicero* himself in this Place, and Oration for *Muræna*, with the Capitoline Fragment of Triumphs. *Onuphrius Panvinus* has erred in placing it in the Year before. *Cicero* was Consul the 691 *Varronian* Year of *Rome*, and went to *Cilicia* in the 703d Year, in the Consulate of *Ser. Sulpicius Rufus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

whose Life, no Man could have been at that Time ignorant ; especially of so remarkable a Circumstance of so great a Conqueror, which must have heightened a Reputation of which every Mouth was full. So that the Charge upon *Cicero*, in the *latter* Part of his Lordship's Critique, does quite *mar* the *Plot* laid to him in the *former* ; as the Scheme of inducing the Senate to believe, that his military *Merit*, at least, was deserving a Triumph, as well as that of *Lucullus*, by suggesting a Fact, which every Senator knew to be false, is such a Piece of *Cunning*, as no Man, out of a *Bedlam*, could be guilty of ; and must have made his Friends think, that his *Head* was turned indeed, and fitter for *Hellebore*, than the *triumphal Laurel*. Such is the Specimen, which this noble Critic has left us of his critical *Acumen*. The Reader certainly must be surpris'd at a *Sagacity* so inconsistent with itself, as, in the Compass of Two Pages, to make Two new Discoveries, *the latter of which quite destroys the former*. Nor do I see how this Imputation on Lord *Bolingbroke's Sagacity* can be avoided, but by another as disgraceful to his *Learning*, that he was so ignorant of these Times, as not to know that *Cicero* and *Lucullus* were

Cotem-

Cotemporaries. This is too much to be easily believed, any more than the Reflection on him, that he took *Tacitus* and *Livy* for Writers of the same Age: As the very Page cited for it is a Proof against the latter Suggestion; so the same Page of the Academics will not suffer us to admit the former. The Truth of the Case seems to be, that the quick-sighted Discoverer was so charmed with the Newness of a Discovery, which had escaped every critical Eye, but his own, that the “*Impetuosity of a favourite Scheme*,” little as the literary Fame of it is in the present Case, would not suffer him to *examine* then, nor his Veneration for *his own*, ever after. Had he done this, he must have observed, not only that this *Falsehood*, which was *craftily* to prepare the Way for his Triumph, must have been *known* to be so to every Man to whom it was suggested; but that it was not published, till *some Years* after he had lost all *Hopes of ever obtaining* that, for which it was to *prepare the Way*. The Academics were not written till the *Varronian Year of Rome 709* *; and *Cicero* has

* See several Letters in the 13th Book to *Atticus*; and particularly 12th, 13th, 14th. The Letters of this Book are in our Editions confused, as to the Order of Time.

had given up all Thoughts of his Triumph, in the Beginning of the Year 705 *. 'Tis too gross an Ignorance, supposing his Lordship not to have read any farther than the Period he quoted, for a Man, who makes any Pretension to Letters, to suppose him not to know, that *Cicero* and *Lucullus* were of the same Age; but the Time when the *Academics* were written, his Lordship may be allowed, without any Imputation, not to have known, without giving himself the Trouble of Inquiry; and such a Trouble, about a little chronological Nicety, is too great for a Man of Spirit to stay to take, who is in *full Speed after Fame, and new Discovery*. Instead of an Instance of Ignorance, it affords only another of the *Impetuosity of a Passion for the New and Uncommon*, and will enable us to determine, by “ the Scrupulousness of the Inquiry, whether *Truth* “ or *Fame* was the noble Writer’s Object †.”

Time, but they were all written in this Year, and the 12th obviously in *June*.

* Ep. ad Att. l. vii. Ep. 10. † Misc. Obs. p. 94.

F

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

FROM the *Sagacity* let us proceed to the *Exactness* of his Lordship's Critique, where another kind of the Freethinker's Criteria will come in play; those by which the *Genius* disciplined into the *Man of Judgment*, and the wild *undisciplined Genius*, are distinguish'd from one another *. The Marks of the latter, from whom nothing beyond Entertainment is to be expected, are *too strong Colouring, careless Reading, indolent taking upon Trust*; and, if the Piece be of any Extent, *Want of Order, and Inconsistency*. Tho' in so little a Compass there could be no Reason to expect either of the latter, yet the Examination of the *Sagacity* of this little Critique has afforded us a surprising Instance of one of them, Inconsistence; an Inconsistence, which does not proceed indeed from the *natural Turn* of his Lordship's Genius, as a Man of "an
" abounding Imagination, Wit, Spirit, and
" that which is called Fine Sense;" but from the *natural Passions and Habits* of such a Genius: Passion for Fame as an Author,

* Miscell. Obser. p. 88, &c.

and Vanity or Pride; which, we see, when in an extravagant Degree, will have the same Effect, in a Subject of little Extent, as of a larger. Out of the former Characteristics, we have had Instances enough of *indolent taking upon Trust*, in the crowded Instances of Plagiarism produced in the Second Section; we are not to expect it here, as to the main Part of the Criticism, the Story of *Lucullus*; *New Discovery* in this being his Lordship's professed Object; nor indeed *much of false Colouring*, or *careless Reading*, in Four Pages and Half, which is all remaining that relates to it. Be there what there will, much, or little, or nothing, 'twill appear in the Examination.

Now such an Examination does, in the Nature of it, include an Examination of *all the Particulars* of the Critique; but unfortunately a *Detail of Particulars*, unless they are *interesting*, is in its Nature too a *tedious Detail*; and the Particulars before us can be interesting to none but those, who have some Taste for *Criticism*, or some Curiosity about *Bolingbrokeism*. I think it highly provident to premise this for my own Sake, lest an indifferent Reader should mistake the *Author*

for the *Subject*, and impute the Dulness of *that* to *me*. I would therefore advise the more intelligent of my Readers, if they find they have not the *Spirit of Criticism*, or the *Curiosity about Bolingbrokeism*, pretty strong upon them, to get their *Snuff-Boxes* in Readiness before they proceed farther, and, as soon as ever they perceive the Muscles of their Mouths begin to be disposed towards *Oscitation*, to apply the *Soporifuge Pinch* (which Help to thinking, by frequent Application to the End of the Nose, I look upon as no inconsiderable one among the Discoveries of the Moderns), and so *toties quoties*, through the whole *Operation*. But, lest they should be tempted to *fling away the Book*, instead of *taking the Snuff-Box*, I do assure them, that, *dull* as the Subject is, they will be surprised at many Things they will find. As to those *fine Gentlemen*, who have had the Misfortune of a *weak Mother*, or a Constitution too *delicate* for the Fatigue of any Education beyond a *French* one, and *so much of Italian*, as may enable them to attend at an *Opera* or *Burletta*, with Decency, I have taken the Pains, for their Sakes, to *translate the Latin*, and throw the Original into the Margin, as it would be too much Trouble
for

for them to get up and reach Monsieur *Mon-*
gault, should he adorn the Mahogany Book-
 case. These Gentlemen therefore cannot,
 I think, in good Manners, but take the
 Trouble *for once of reading the Thing thro'.*

“ *Lucullus*, after he had been chosen Con-
 “ ful, obtained by Intrigue the Government
 “ of *Cilicia*, and so put himself into a Situ-
 “ ation of commanding the *Roman Army*
 “ against MITHRIDATES: *Tully* had the
 “ same Government afterwards *.” This is
 true literally, but for all that is *false Colour-*
ing: For, as to the *Use* his Lordship intends
 it, the Case of *Cicero* was very different from
 that of *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* intrigued for the
 Province; *Cicero* had it much against his
 Will; and, when he was forced to have it,
 from his very first setting out, *intrigued*
against keeping it longer than his Year †.
Lucullus went on Purpose to a War, and was
 therefore intent on every Means of preparing
 himself for it: *Cicero* went to a peaceful Pro-
 vince, and hoped for nothing more. *Lucullus*
 hoped to gather Laurels, and Money too,
 and he did both in Abundance: *Cicero* feared

* Let. Hist. p. 24.

† Ep. ad Att. l. v. c. 1, 2.

nothing more than those Fields which produced the one, and his Point of Ambition was to shew himself superior to all Temptations of the other *. It will not therefore follow, from a *Similarity of Circumstances*, as his Lordship would infer, that “ *Cicero* had “ read and questioned at least as much as “ *Lucullus* †;” indeed the contrary may be fairly inferred from the Difference of Circumstances. Now, if the noble Critic did not attend to these Differences of Circumstance, it was “ *careless Reading* :” If he did, and *unwittingly* inferred this, ’twas *wrong Reasoning* ; if knowingly, it was *wilful Misrepresentation*.

“ He had no MITHRIDATES, nor any “ other Enemy of Consequence opposed to “ him.” What need then of his reading and questioning as much as *Lucullus*? ’Tis true he had none such at his first setting out for his Province ; but surely his Lordship had forgot *Procorus*, and the *Parthians*, afterwards, who, since the Fate of *Crassus*, were become as formidable to the *Romans*, as *Mithridates* had ever been ; and to none of the

* Ep. ad Att. l. v. passim.

† Let. Hist. p. 25.

Romans more than to the Proconsul of Cilicia, whose Province they hovered over, and threatened with an Irruption. This he was to cover from a dreaded Enemy, and a great Army *. What again is this, *Ignorance*, or wilful *Misrepresentation*? If the former, 'tis owing to CARELESS READING, which indeed is the natural Effect of that *Impetuosity* for the *Fame of new Discovery*, which will not suffer *Examination*; for, had his Lordship examined, had he even read, the Letter to *Atticus* he himself below quotes (which can be no other than the 20th of the 5th Book, for in no other *Cicero* laughs at his Generalship), he would have seen enough of the *Parthians* to have engaged him to look farther; and, if he had but looked Two Letters back, and to another, which that directs to, he could not have said what he has, without a *Design* to impose on his Reader, and to cover the Imposition with the Expression, *He had no Enemy of any Consequence* OPPOSED to him; which, if intended of the *Manner* in which *Mitbridates* was opposed to *Lucullus*, by Battles, and Sieges, and Conquests, is true indeed; but,

* Ep. ad Att. l. v. p. 15, 18. and Letter to the Senate, Famil. l. xv. E. 1.

if it be understood of the Insignificance of the military Services of *Cicero*, the Idea it conveys to every Reader is as much a *Falsehood*, as if it had been couched in the plainest Terms, and is, in Reality, what his Lordship has charged upon *Cicero*.

“ All his military Feats consisted in surprizing and pillaging a Parcel of *Highlanders*, and *wild Cilicians*.” How *picturesque* his Lordship is, may be seen in the same Letter to *Atticus*, which he does not include in the Charge of pompous Burlesque, and in which, as in all his Correspondence with him, he, to use Lord *Bolingbroke*’s Term, freely *unmasks himself* *. This indeed is the only one, which the sagacious Critic has left us the Use of, as those to *Cælius* and *Cato*, in which the Operations of the Campaign are likewise treated, are proscribed. It was not quite so provident, or his Lordship did not read it, which I am inclined rather to think, to leave us this; for this alone, which has the Critic’s own Sanction, will do. “ Here (in Mount *Amanus*) on the 3d of the Ides of *October*, we cut to Pieces a great Number of the Enemy.

* Lett. Hist. 5. p. 163.

“ Their

“ Their Forts, which were very strong, we
 “ have taken and burnt, *Pontinus* (one of
 “ his Lieutenant Generals) having come upon
 “ them in the Night, and we in the Morn-
 “ ing : We had the Title of *Imperator* con-
 “ ferred on us by the Army *.” Here the
 Burlesque certainly lies in the noble Critic’s
 Description, he should however at least have
 finished his Picture, travestied these *castella*
munitissima into Cottages, and added, burnt
 their Hutts about their Ears. I presume we
 may be allowed to borrow some Particulars,
 by way of Comment on this, from the Let-
 ter to *Cato*, provided we leave out the *pom-*
pous manner. We find that there were Six
 of these Forts taken by Storm, and Three
 Towns, and several more of the Forts burnt;
 and that the Attack lasted from Break of
 Day till Four o’ Clock in the Afternoon.
 But, if this would not pass with his Lord-
 ship for more than PILLAGING, he had be-
 fore him, in the same Letter to *Atticus*, a
 long and regular Siege. “ We carried on
 “ Lines of Circumvallation round *Pinde-*

* *Hic a. d. III. Id. Octobr. magnum numerum hostium
 cecidimus. Castella munitissima nocturno Pontini ad-
 ventu, nostro matutino, cepimus, incendimus. Impera-
 tores appellati sumus. Ep. 20.*

“ *nissus*, which is a very strong Town of the
 “ free *Cilicians*, and has ever been in Arms (a
 “ savage and fierce People, and provided
 “ with every thing necessary for their De-
 “ fence): By the Help of a very great
 “ Mound, *Espaliers*, a very high Tower,
 “ great Plenty of Slings, a great many
 “ Archers, with great Pains and Prepara-
 “ tions, a great many of our People wounded,
 “ and without any Misfortune to the Army,
 “ we have carried our Point. And a jovial Sa-
 “ *turnalia* in truth we have had *.” The
 Place surrendered on the First Day of the *Satur-*
*nal*ia, or Festival of *Saturn*, after a Siege of
Fifty-seven Days. And yet this is with Lord
Bolingbroke no more than surprizing and pil-
 laging a Parcel of *WILD Cilicians*. Now
 these *wild Cilicians* were a mountainous
 People, that never had been subdued before,
 neither by *Romans*, nor by any the most

* *Nos Pindenissum, quod oppidum munitissimum Eleu-*
thero cilicum omnium memoria in armis fuit, (feri homines
et acres, et omnibus rebus ad defendendum parati) cinxi-
mus vallo et fossa: aggere maximo, vincis, turri altissima,
magna tormentorum copia, multis sagittariis, magno labore
apparatu, multis faucibus nostris, incolumi exercitu, nego-
tium confecimus. Hilara sanè Saturnalia. Ib. the agger,
vinçæ et turris, the Reader will find very clearly described
in Vegetius.

powerful Prince before them *; and were therefore by the *Greeks* called *Eleuthero cilices*, or FREE CILICIANS, which his Lordship very humorously, and very justly, interprets WILD *Cilicians*; we often giving the Name of FREE to what is VERY WILD, to *wild thinking*, and *wild writing*, as is most evident. Now tho' these *wild Cilicians* are no very great Instance of Lord *Bolingbroke's* *Greek*, and his *Learning*, yet the whole Description is, or I am much mistaken, a strong Proof of his STRONG COLOURING.

The Reader may possibly think on this State of the Case, unconnected as it is with the Circumstances of the *Roman* Affairs in the East, that the noble *Roman's* Head might not be so much turn'd with Vanity, as the noble *Briton* would represent. A Stratagem, not unbecoming the best General, was shew'd in the Surprize of the Mountaineers, in the First Instance: And a Town in the strongest Situation, and supplied with all Necessaries, and the Inhabitants bold and fierce, was, after a long Siege, reduced, in the Second; a People was subdued, which never had been before, and the Province freed from the Pil-

* Famil. Ep. l. xv. Ep. 4.

lages and Plunder of them, to which it had been always exposed. In this, like a good Governor, he would have consulted the Interest of his Province; and, in subduing a People never subdued before, would, like a good Citizen, have done Honour to his Country in a *national Point*: But, if we consider it under the Circumstances in which it stood, and in the Light the *Romans* then did, the Campaign of *Tully* will appear much more considerable. The *Roman* Governments were become a Fund to maintain the Ambition or Luxury of the *Roman* Magistrates. Laws were, almost every Year, made to redress the Grievance, the Penalties were increased, the Subterfuges provided against, and the *Roman* Forum swarmed with Prosecutions on these Laws; but, instead of *redressing* the Grievances, all tended only to *increase* them *; and the poor People were obliged, not only to raise enough to glut the rapacious Governor himself, but to enable him to bribe his Judges, in case of Prose-

* *Dio Cassius* has something of this in his Account of *Gabinus*, at the End of the 39th Book; but the whole of it can only be seen, in its just Light, from the general History of these Times; many Instances occur in the Works of *Cicero*.

cution. One Instance may suffice to shew, how many, and how rich, the Perquisites of Government were, even in Cases which must, in their Nature, fall under the Discretion of Governors: In the Province of *Cilicia, Cyprus* alone, which was an Appendage of it, used to make a Present of *only* Two hundred *Attic* Talents, to be eased from furnishing Winter-Quarters to the *Roman* Troops, which, according to *Arbuthnot's* Tables, is 11,200 *l.* Sterling *. How much could an artful Governor, by a good Management of this one Terror only, be able to raise?

'Tis no Wonder therefore, if the *Roman* Provinces were well disposed, whenever a favourable Opportunity flattered their Hopes, to change their Masters. *Appius*, *Cicero's* Predecessor, had been such a *wild Beast*, as his Successor, in Confidence to *Atticus*, calls him, that he had quite devoured the Province. The *Asiatic* Provinces were threatened with an Invasion of the *Parthians*: *Cappadocia* was all in a Ferment with Plots, and

* Ad *Attic.* l. v. Ep. 21. The Computation here made is by the least, or common *Attic* Talent; and, in the Number CC, all the Editions and *MS.* agree; and indeed the Truth of the Reading doth not depend on this Place alone, but is confirmed by other Places in the same Ep.

intestine Parties, and ready to burst into a Flame: The *Parthians* were advanced to the Neighbourhood of it, through which, as it was an open Country, and not guarded with those Passes which *Cilicia* was on the Side of *Syria*, it was expected they were to penetrate into the interior Provinces: The neighbouring King of *Armenia* was a close Ally of the *Parthians*, and the little Princes on the Frontiers, instead of being disposed to assist heartily either, were waiting to see, which of the Two was to be their Masters. In this Situation was *Cicero*, when he was obliged not only to cover *Cappadocia*, but to restore Order and Tranquillity there, and to support, by the express Order of the Senate, *Ariobarzanes* on the Throne. A delicate Situation undoubtedly, and in which *Cicero* owed more to his civil Virtues, than his military Skill or Strength *. From the Time he set his Foot on the Shore of *Asia*, he shewed such an Example of Moderation, such an Abstinence from all Presents and Perquisites, such a Tenderness for the People, such a reconciling Address, Things they were

* For these several Particulars, see Fam. l. xv. Ep. 2, 3, 1. ad Att. l. v. E. 18. for this is the Order of Time in which they were written.

so unused to, that he was look'd upon as something more than Man; and the Fame of him reached his Province before he did himself. He had but just time to confirm the great Opinion they had conceived of him, before he was to set out for the Army. Whether it was, that this had disconcerted the Hopes of the *Parthians*, or that they were struck with his Name, or were not apprized of his Weakness, they turned off to the Side of *Cilicia*, and set down before *Antioch*, which *Cassius* defended. *Cicero*, in Five Days, intirely re-established the Affairs of *Cappadocia*, secured the *Roman* Ally in the peaceable Possession of his Kingdom, and advanced towards *Cilicia* with all Diligence; his Vanguard surprized and cut to Pieces Part of the *Parthian* Troops, which had entered the Passes of *Cilicia*; and *Pacorus*, with the *Parthian* Army, on hearing of *Cicero's* Approach, retreated from before *Antioch*, and gave *Cassius* an Opportunity of harrassing their Rear. The Mountaineers of *Amanus* were in the *Parthian* Interest, and waited with Impatience for their Arrival. He took the Opportunity of putting it out of their Power to favour the Attempts of the *Parthians*

thians any more that Way, and effectually secured the Passes of *Amanus* to the *Romans* *.

'Tis an easy Matter from this View to see, not only of what Importance the subduing that mountainous Tract was, at that Juncture, to the *Romans*; but how great the Services of the Proconsul of *Cilicia* in that Year had been. How widely different from the Truth then is Lord *Bolingbroke's* Representation of the Matter? And what is more memorable, all these Particulars are drawn from those very Letters, which Lord *Bolingbroke* cites to shew the Vanity and Futility of the Man. How can one forbear admiring at that Rapidity of Genius, which, when his Sagacity has found out something new, which strikes his Imagination, and promises literary Fame, can skim over the Whole, pick out what is for his Purpose, and make the Author speak just what he himself pleases, and cite his Authority for that which he directly contradicts. Such is the magic Hand of Lord *Bolingbroke*, nor can I forbear applying to his Lordship's new Discoveries, his own Words against those

* See the Letters above, and Ep. ad Att. l. v. Ep. 20.
Necro-

Necromancers the Chronologers. " In short,
 " my Lord, all these *Discoveries* are so many
 " enchanted Castles, they appear to be some-
 " thing, they are nothing but Appearances :
 " like them too dissolve the Charm" (that is,
examine), " and they vanish from the
 " Sight *." 'Tis not fair to *infer* all from
 one Instance, but 'tis fair to *suspect* all, and
 to *infer* the Necessity of the Examination of
 all, from one Instance, of *all the Parts* of
 which the same will be found true ; of that
 Part in the next Place, where his Lordship
 describes *Cicero's Account* of his own Actions,
 which has as much of the enchanted Castle,
 as the former, where his *Lordship* describes
 those Actions.

S E C T. V.

WHAT follows has another of the Free-
 thinker's Characteristics of the *undisci-*
plin'd Genius, who cannot be relied on, which
 indeed was little to be expected in so short
 a Piece, any more than Want of *Consistency* ;
 I mean Want of *Order*, or Distinctness in
 the Thoughts ; a Confusion always the Case,
 when a Man himself does not well know
 what he means.

* Lett. Hist. p. 8.

The ingenious Critic proceeds, “ yet he
 “ assumed the Airs of a Conqueror, and de-
 “ scribed his Actions in so pompous a man-
 “ ner, that the Account becomes Burlesque.
 “ He laughs indeed, in one of his Letters to
 “ *Atticus*, at his Generalship; but, if we
 “ turn to those he wrote to *Coelius Rufus*,
 “ and to *Cato*, upon this Occasion, or to
 “ those, wherein he expresses to *Atticus* his
 “ Resentment against *Cato* for not proposing
 “ in his Favour the Honours usually decreed
 “ to Conquerors, we may see how Vanity
 “ turned his Head, and how impudently he
 “ insisted on obtaining a Triumph.” Now,
 what does ASSUMING THE AIRS OF A CON-
 QUEROR here mean? His assuming the Title
 and Insignia of IMPERATOR? Surely that is
 no Proof of *Vanity* in *Cicero*, which every
Roman in those Circumstances did, after he
 was hailed such by the Army. Are we then
 to understand them as referring to the Words
 following, “ and described his Actions in so
 “ pompous a manner, that the Account be-
 “ comes Burlesque?” or of “ pretending to
 “ the Honours usually decreed to Conquerors?”
 Or of the “ *Vanity of both?*” Again, the
 LETTERS TO COELIUS AND CATO, AND
 TO ATTICUS ABOUT CATO, are to prove
 something;

something ; but *what* ? By their Connection with the *Airs of a Conqueror*, and the *pompous manner of Description* in the Period before, one would imagine they were to prove, *that*, be the *same Thing*, or *Two distinct Things* there meant : But, by the Connection with what follows in this Period, one would think, that by them we were to see something else, “ *how Vanity had turned his Head, and how impudently he insisted on obtaining a Triumph.*” Here again the latter Part of the Sentence is clear ; but what is the *Vanity* meant of ? ’tis scarce the *same* as the *Impudence*, with which it is connected ; one should think rather it should be the *Vanity of pretending* to what he had the *Impudence to insist on* : But is the *Vanity* confined to this, *exclusive* of the *Vanity* of the Description before mentioned, or *inclusive* of it ? So confused and perplexed, in so little a Compass, is the Order here of his Lordship’s Thoughts ! But, as indistinct and jumbled as the Thoughts are, ’tis plain enough however, from the Whole of them, that Three Charges, very injurious to *Cicero’s* Character, are here brought against him :— That he has described his Actions in so pompous a manner, that the Account becomes

Burlesque:—That he had the Vanity to expect the Honours usually decreed to Conquerors, without any tolerable Pretensions to them:—That, notwithstanding the Repulse he met with, he impudently insisted on obtaining a Triumph. 'Tis as plain too, that the Letters here mentioned are brought to prove these, tho' which are to prove which does not appear; but *what* they do prove, or whether they prove *any thing*, will be seen by examining the Contents of these Letters, with respect to these Three Accusations.

I cannot here but remind the gentle Reader, for his own Sake, of the *Snuff-Box*; and, for mine, of the Distinction between *Author* and *Subject*, before mentioned. If he fears, because he has *felt*, the Tedioufness of Detail, he cannot however but *see* the Necessity of it; there is no shewing the *confused Order* of a Man's Thoughts, without entering *minutely* into that Order, and shewing the Confusion of the Connection. But what is a greater Misfortune still, if it does not appear whether it be *this*, or *that*, or *t'other*, which a Man means; and *this*, and *that*, and *t'other*, happen to be false, every one must be detected.

Now,

Now, as to the First, *Cicero's pompous ridiculous Description of his Actions*: In what is cited from his Correspondence with *Atticus*, about *Cato*, tho' there be much *Resentment*, there is no *Description at all* of his Actions in it: For the Proof of this, therefore, we are to have Recourse to the Letters to *Coelius* and *Cato*. Nor is there but *one* Letter to *Coelius*, and *one* to *Cato*, in which he gives any Account of these Actions; so that the Reader need not be so much frightened, as he might be otherwise, by the Ambiguity of his Lordship's Expression, *the Letters he wrote to Coelius and to Cato*, which may be meant of *several* to each, as well as of *one* to each.

“ He laughs indeed, in one of his Letters to “ *Atticus*, at his Generalship; but if we turn “ to those to *Coelius*” — Now he happens, in the Letter to *Coelius*, to make as merry with his Generalship, as he does in that to *Atticus*. *Cicero* was known to be one of the *greatest Laughers* of his Age: His Jokes and *bons Mots* were in every-body's Mouth. A Collection was made of them, as well as of his Letters, in Three Books, said to be by the same Hand too, his favourite *Tyro's*, in which there

there was some Trash; but the great *Cæsar*, who, as well as our greater *Bacon*, diverted himself with making a *Jest-Book*, under the Title of *Apophthegms*, had so nice a Taste in the *Ciceronian Sales*, that, when any *spurious* were brought him, he would readily distinguish them from the *true Ciceronian*, and not admit them into his Collection *. So great a Laugher was pleased with Men like himself, and had his *Familiars* of this Turn, with whom he laughed when present, and by Letter when absent. Among his Correspondencies, which are left, there are some of these remaining, as his Letters to *Papi-rius Pætus*, *Volumnius*, *Trebatius*, &c. which are almost intirely humorous. *Coelius* was one of these merry *Familiars*, and remarkable for his *Urbanity*, or terse humorous Wit; he had been a Disciple of *Cicero's*, and made one of the most considerable Figures among the Orators of the second Class, that is, of those who were inferior to none but *Cicero*, *Hortensius*, &c. † and was besides a Statesman. The Letters to him are of the *mixt kind*, partly *serious* as the Subject, and

* Quint. Inst. l. vi. c. 3. in the Beginning. Cic. in Fam Ep.

* Quint. ib. l. ult. cap. ult. Ib. l. vi. c. 2. de orator.
partly

partly *humorous*, as the Characters of the Correspondents required ; and these so remarkably blended together, that, in one upon the most serious of Subjects, the Civil War then broke out between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, in which the Two Friends espoused different Interests, and from the most serious and melancholy Situation of Mind, *Cicero* could not end the Epistle without falling into the usual Turn of his Correspondence with him *. Nor is there a *single* Letter to *Coelius*, but what has this Mixture of the humorous. In the Letter his Lordship refers to for this *solemn Strut* of *Cicero*, the Account is so far from pompous, that it is interspersed with this Humour through the Whole; nor is there any *pompous* Expression in it, but what is *humorous*, and the Humour of which lies in the very Pomp of it. He begins the Subject in his usual Vein. “ As you wished, so it “ is ; for you would feign, you say, that I “ should have just so much to do, as might “ be sufficient for a Bit of Laurel † ;” and it ends just in the same Strain: There is not

* Fam. L. ii. Ep. 16.

† *Ut optasti ita est, velles enim, ais, tantummodo ut haberem negotii, quod esset ad laureolam satis, ad. Fam. L. ii. Ep. 10.*

above an Expression or Two, which can be mistaken for the fastuous, and those by none who are acquainted with the manner of the Author in these Letters. Speaking of his March from *Cappadocia* to *Amanus*, he says, that his Name gave Authority to his Arms, “ among those who did not know him; for 'tis great in these Parts: Is this he who saved the City? Whom the Senate—You know the rest *.” He is laughing at the People, who concluded he must be a great Warrior, because they had heard so much of him, and at his Generalship, that it was those who did not know him, that were afraid of him. After his Account of the Siege of *Pindenissus*, in which he was then very busy, he adds, “ he wants nothing to the acquiring of the greatest Glory, but THE NAME OF A TOWN †,” laughing at the Obscurity of the Name *Pindenissus*, a Name perhaps never heard of at *Rome* before. That this is the Meaning of *Cicero*, the Beginning of the Letter to *Atticus*, on the taking the Place, is a sufficient Proof. “ On

* *Apud eos qui me non norant. Multum est enim in his locis: Hiccine est ille qui urbem? quem Senatus? nosti cetera. ib.*

† *Mihi ad summam gloriam nihil deest nisi nomen oppidi.*

“ the Morning of the *Saturnalia* the *Pinden-*
 “ *nissians* surrendered, the Forty-seventh
 “ Day after we began the Siege. Who (the
 “ Plague) are these *Pindenissians*? Who are
 “ they? you’ll say: I never heard of the
 “ Name before. Could I make them *Cilicia*,
 “ *Ætolia*, or *Macedonia* *?” I have done
 as much as could be done, and ’tis not my
 Fault if the People have no Name. He con-
 tinues to *Coelius*, “ but if I take it, as I hope
 “ I shall, then truly I will notify it in Form.
 “ At present I have wrote you this, that you
 “ might be in Hopes of obtaining what you
 “ wished for †,”—the Bit of Laurel in the
 Beginning of the Letter. How pompous
 now is all this? The Letter to *Coelius* there-
 fore, instead of shewing what Lord *Boling-*
broke intended, shews only, that his Lord-
 ship understood neither the *Character* of
Coelius, nor the *general Turn* of the Epistles
 to him, nor *this* in particular; and that, if
 he ever read it, he took for the *solemnly se-*

* *Saturnalibus manē se mihi Pindenissæ dediderunt, sep-*
timo et quinquagesimo die, postquam oppugnare eos cœpimus.
Qui (malum) isti Pindenissæ? qui sunt? inquires: nomen
audivi nunquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam,
Ætoliā, aut Macedoniā reddere? ad Att. l. v. Ep. 28.

† Quod si, ut spero, cepero; tum verò literas pu-
 blicè mittam. Hæc ad te in præsentī scripsi, ut speres
 te assequi id quod optasses.

rious, Expressions of *mere Humour*. A merry Mistake indeed, and not very worthy of Lord *Bolingbroke's* Discernment ! But he was in *too great a Hurry*, or in *too ill an Humour*, to relish them.

As to the Letter to *Cato*, it will be easily allowed, that, if *CICERO* could write in such a *pompous ridiculous manner* of his Actions, be they what they would, to *CATO*, he must be not only ridiculously *vain*, but downright *mad*. 'Tis Part of the Orator's Trade to suit his *manner* to the *Men* he would persuade ; and the *Roman* Orator, in order to bring the *rigid Stoic* into his Measures, addresses him in a manner, that must necessarily make himself *ridiculous* to every *common Man*. If the *Latin* Reader will be at the Trouble of turning to the Letter, which is the Fourth of the 15th Book of the Familiar Epistles, I will promise him, that the Pleasure he will receive from it will abundantly compensate the Trouble. He will there find so much Art and *proper* Address to *Cato*, as to be in no Doubt about the Man's Head who wrote it : But he will be struck with *Wonder*, as he reads *Cicero's* Relation of his Actions, and *wonder more* as he goes on, and
begin

begin to doubt, whether his *own Head be not turned*; for, if it is not, Lord *Bolingbroke's must*, or he never could have *looked into* the Letter he quotes. The Whole of it is so void of Rhetorical Flourish and Ornament, is so *naked* and *plain* an Exposition of Facts, the Motives and Reasons of his Conduct, that one cannot but be astonished, that it ever could be construed into so "pom-
 "pous a Description of his Actions, that the
 "Account becomes Burlesque." Nay, the very *Art* of it lies in the *Plainness* of it; which is the more remarkable, because, as soon as ever the *General* has done speaking of his Actions, the *Orator*, passing on to another Subject, *Cato*, raises his Voice, and shews another manner. The Part of the Letter, in which *Cicero* relates his Actions, is too long to be transcribed: It may be enough perhaps to observe, that his Description of the principal military Affair of the Year, that of *Pindenissus*, is in the same Terms as in the Letter to *Atticus* before produced, with only this Addition to the Account of the Line of Circumvallation, *sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi*. This the Reader may take as a *Specimen of the Whole*, and be assured, that there is nothing thro' the Whole that has

more Pomp than the Words there produced. So that, instead of *Cicero's* burlesquing his *own* Actions, by the pompous manner in which he describes them, the Truth is, that his Lordship has burlesqued Actions, considerable in themselves, but much more so in the Conjecture and Circumstances in which they were done, by the Ridiculousness of his Description.

What now must we say of a Reading so CARELESS, as to cite only *two* Places for the Proof of a Thing, *both of which are a direct Proof of the contrary*? Need there any farther Instance of *that* Mark of the Free-thinker's GENIUS NOT TO BE RELIED ON? Nor can this be avoided, but by saying, that he never looked into the Places he cites; which is to excuse one Fault by another, and a greater: For 'tis to suppose a Man to gratify his Thirst for Fame, at the Expence of another's, without minding what he says, and boldly cite Things for Proofs, without troubling his Head in the least, whether they be so or not. This is a Mark which the Freethinker has not; 'tis to be hoped indeed, that 'tis far from being frequent enough to be comprehended under *General* Criteria; nor
does

does it rise out of the *natural Turn* of such a Genius as he is giving the *Criteria* of; nor out of the *natural Passions and Habits* of such a Genius; 'tis a Vice which the *dullest* of Men may have as well as the *wittiest*; and which, to the Passion for Fame, which may be common to both, adds only a *high Degree of Malevolence*, and a *bold defying all Truth, and Regard to all Decency*; when this Character is added to the Man of Parts, it makes him indeed the more *mischievous*, to be one of the most *odious Pests of Society*.

If we suppose these Letters to *Coelius* and *Cato*, to refer to the other Part of the *Sarcasm* on *Cicero*,—"that Vanity had turned
 " his Head, and he impudently insisted on a
 " Triumph," they are however a Proof against the former, "that he burlesqued
 " his own Actions by the pompous manner
 " in which he talked of them;" because there is no Place in which he talks of these Actions, but these two, and the Letter to *Atticus*.

S E C T. VI.

WE are to consider then these Letters, and “ those wherein he expresses to “ *Atticus* his Resentment against *Cato* for “ not proposing, in his Favour, the *Honours* “ *usually decreed to Conquerors*,” as a Proof “ how *Vanity* had turned his Head ;” supposing this Vanity to respect an *unreasonable Pretension* to those Honours. But here again, what are those Honours ? are they the same as the Triumph, which he not only vainly aspired to, but *impudently insisted on* ? or are they *different* from it ? A Reader, who was to form his Idea of this only from Lord *Bolingbroke*, would conclude from his Words, that *Cicero* had the Vanity to apply to *Cato* for the Favour of proposing, in his behalf, the Honours which were the usual Rewards of Conquest ; that *Cato* refused it, as not thinking the Actions, on which he founded this Pretension, worthy of them ; that *Cicero* greatly resented this, and notwithstanding impudently insisted on obtaining those Honours, that is, a Triumph. Now such a Representation as this, is all, from one End to the other, *Misrepresentation* or *Confusion*. The *Confusion* lies principally in this, that

that the noble Critic seems to have *blended and confounded different and distinct Honours* with one another, or at least has not *sufficiently distinguished* them to make his Meaning clear: Here therefore I am obliged again to perform the Office of a *Commentator* on his Lordship, and to make *that* clear, without which the *rest* cannot be so.

The *Romans* perhaps owed the Success of their Arms, next to their *constant Employment* in them, to nothing more than the *Reward*, which military Bravery met with, from the *meanest Soldier* up to the *General* himself; and these too such as *cost the State nothing*. Thus military Glory became the *national Passion*. After any considerable Achievement, which they thought deserved the Honour, the Army hailed their General with the Acclamation of IMPERATOR, who thenceforward used, and was addressed by, that Title, in all Letters, public as well as private. *He*, his *Lictors*, his *Letters* in which he notified his Success to the Senate, were crowned with *Laurel*. These were Honours which the *Army* itself conferred, the rest the *Senate* gave. The First was the *Supplication*, or a general Rejoicing and
Thankf-

Thanksgiving to the Gods, with Sacrifices and Feastings, for one or a certain Number of Days, according to the Importance of the Exploit ; during which Time no *Public Transactions*, but those of Joy and Festivity, were permitted. This was the usual *Prelude* to the *Triumph*, the greatest military Honour, which a People, *intoxicated with military Glory*, knew ; a Glory which derived Honour and Influence on the Conqueror's *Posterity* ; and this, when the laurelled Conqueror returned home, was *given*, or *refused*.

To infer from the Critic's not distinguishing between the *Supplication*, and *Triumph*, that *he did not know the Difference*, would be inferring too much ; as it implies too gross an Ignorance of the *Roman Customs* for a Man to be guilty of, who professes himself so familiar with *Livy*, where a thousand Instances of the Difference occurs. The Truth of the Case seems to be, that the Difference not occurring very *readily* to his Thoughts, or not recollecting whether 'twas the *Supplication*, or the *Triumph*, for which *Cicero* was soliciting *Cato's Favour*, and not caring to be at the *Trouble of Inquiry*, he secured himself

himself in the *general* Expression: So that, instead of an Ignorance which would reflect a Disgrace on every Man of Letters, the Inaccuracy will furnish an Instance only of the Free-thinker's Characters of *Indolence*, and *Art of keeping to Generals*. Being thus extricated from the *Confusion*, we may now apply ourselves to the Examination of the *Truth* of his Lordship's Representation.

These First Honours of the Supplication therefore are what the noble Critic must be supposed to mean, by *the Honours usually decreed to Conquerors*, since it was the *Supplication* which *Cato* did not propose in his Favour, and it was *Cato's* Conduct with respect to that, which *Cicero* resents in the Letter to *Atticus*, to which his Lordship refers us. He has indeed been guilty of a *little Mistake*, another little *Inaccuracy*, in saying it was at *Cato's* not *proposing* this that *Cicero* expresses his Resentment; whereas it was at not *voting* for it; which the Letter itself will shew, as the Letter to *Cato* will, that *this* was all that he desired of him. In the Letter to *Coelius*, whatever *Vanity* there is, 'tis plainly a very *merry* one; he does not so much as talk seriously of *any* Honours, and his *Bit of Lau-*

rel does obviously relate to something else, and not the Supplication. These Letters indeed, in their very Nature, can only prove *Cicero's pretending* to the Supplication, not the *Vanity of pretending*. If he was *such a Pretender* to this Honour, that *his Head must have been turned with Vanity first*, it must appear from some *other Medium* than these Letters; and can there be a better than what the *Romans themselves thought of the Services of their General*? That, undoubtedly, will be a better Criterion of the *Vanity* of his Pretensions, or *Reasonableness* of his Expectations, than what he *himself* thought or said.

Now 'tis certain, that he had been SALUTED IMPERATOR by the Army: But his Lordship may say, in complimenting *him*, they complimented *themselves*. Be it so; let the *Senate* then be Judge; for whether the heads of the Army were turned with the *Vanity of affected Conquest*, as well as their General, or Lord *Bolingbroke's* with the *Vanity of new Discovery, and literary Fame*, will appear by the Reception which the Senate gave the *Literæ Laureatæ* of this *new Emperor*, when, after taking the Capital of the WILD *Cilicians*, he notified

tified in form to them his Conquests, expecting the *Honour usually decreed to Conquerors*; that is, a Supplication, or public Thanksgiving. It will, I presume, be allowed, that the *Roman Senate* were *then* better Judges of the Nature of these *Military Feats*, and the Importance of the Service, than Lord *Bolingbroke*, with all his fine Sense, *One thousand Eight hundred Years after*. Did then the CONSULS and PRÆTORS, and TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS, the SENATE and PEOPLE OF ROME, to whom the public Letters were directed, on the reading them in Senate, order the Friends of M. TULLIUS CICERO to take Care of the mock Emperor till his HEAD WAS BETTER, as it was becoming the Dignity of so venerable a Body to have done, if it was really *so bad* as Lord *Bolingbroke* represents? No, they DECREED HIM A PUBLIC THANKSGIVING to the Gods for the Blessing, with such *peculiar Circumstances* as shew'd the high Sense of the Services he had done. We happen to have, to his Lordship's Confusion, preserved among the Letters of *Cicero's* Friends to him, and his to *Atticus**, a more distinct Account of this than we could have

* *Cœlius*, L. viii. 11. ad *Att.* L. vii. 1.

had, even had *Livy's* Relation been left. We see in these, that tho' Matters then began to run high between the *Cæsarean* and *Pompeian* Factions, that *all Parties*, that *Friends* and *Enemies*, concurred in doing Honour to *Cicero* on the Occasion. There was but *one Enemy* (who had been his Competitor for the Augurate, and was then in the College of *Pontifices*, and as one of them had a Power, with regard to that Part of the Decree which directed the Number and Nature of the Sacrifices, to have hung up the whole Affair, and to whom he had neglected to write on the Occasion, as it was usual to do to all), and *two Friends*, who prevented it from being *unanimous*; and these joined in a Proposal of something *in lieu* of the Supplication, which did *more honour* to *Cicero* than the Supplication itself.

Lord *Bolingbroke* observes, that *Cato* did “not propose in *Tully's* Favour the *Honours* “usually decreed to Conquerors”; that is, *this Honour*; and that *Tully* warmly resented this Proceeding of *Cato*; and he says *true*. But how does Lord *Bolingbroke* *misrepresent*, even when he *speaks Truth*!

When Corruption crept into the *Roman* Constitution, and *Particulars* began to be too powerful for the *Public*, *Party* and *Intrigue* prevailed sometimes to grant the Supplication, and sometimes to refuse or delay the Triumph, where *Old Rome* by no means would. *Cato's* Character is well known, always *rigid in the Cause of Virtue*, and *the old Constitution*. And as these Honours were sometimes prostituted to Intrigue and Cabal, it is not to be wondered if *Cato* was jealous of every *Extension* of them, as it manifestly tended to enervate that Spirit to which *Rome* owed its Greatness. Now the Part which *Cato* acted, when he did not "propose in *Cicero's* Favour the Honours usually decreed to Conquerors," was this :

Instead of proposing the usual Honour of the Supplication, which was the Reward of *mere military* Merit, he proposed a more unusual and greater Honour, and which he thought more suited to *Cicero's peculiar* Merit on the Occasion. He regarded the Service *Cicero* had done the State, as *more owing to himself*, his *Conduct*, his *Moderation*, and *Innocence*, (the Virtues quite opposite to the epidemical Vices of the *Roman* Governors

hons of that Age) by which he had reconciled to the Public the Minds of the People, before alienated from it, than to things in which Military Force, and the Blessing of the Gods, had a Share. He proposed therefore a Resolution of Senate to this Effect, after as warm a Speech in the Emperor's Praise, as the warmest of any of his Friends. As the Motion of *Cato* was more *philosophic* than *Roman*, little Attention was paid to it: One of *Cicero's* Friends, *Favonius*, and his Enemy *Hirrus*, before-mentioned, were the only Senators that came into it. The rest *unanimously* decreed the accustomary Honours of the Supplication; and *Cato*, to shew that he only proposed the other as *really more honourable* to *Cicero*, attended the Registry, and attested the Decree of the Supplication; a Thing which was never used but by those who proposed, or warmly supported it in the Debates. *Cicero* himself had a high Sense of the *extraordinary* Honour done by *Cato*. He not only returns him suitable Thanks in his Answer to *Cato's* Letter on the Occasion, but in Confidence to *Atticus*, speaking of the Supplication decreed him, says, "Which he who did not
 " vote, voted more than if he had voted a
 " thousand

" thousand Triumphs : " And, in another Place, calls his Speech *Divinae Laudes* *.

So *impartial* has Lord *Bolingbroke* been in the Representation of this Matter, when he says, *Cato did not propose in Cicero's Favour the Honours usually decreed to Conquerors*. His Lordship has acted by *Cicero* on this Occasion, just as *Cæsar* did by *Cato*; who, in his Letter of Congratulation to *Cicero*, on the Decree, triumphs in *Cato's* not voting for it, without mentioning any thing of what he voted instead of it.

But how is the high Sense *Cicero* had of this extraordinary Motion of *Cato* consistent with the Resentment he expresses against him, in the *Letter* § to *Atticus*, referred to by his Lordship? for so it should be, not LETTERS, as he has it; another little Instance of the *Exaëtnefs* of our Critic's reading. Has he here too been guilty of Misrepresentation? Why truly, if to relate a Fact *without the Cause*, when the relation of the Fact, *with the Cause*, would place the Fact in a very different *Light* from that in which it is seen,

* Fam. L. xv. E. 5. 6. L. ii. E. 15. Att. L. vi. E. 1. § L. vii. E. 2.

when

when related alone, be Misrepresentation, Lord *Bolingbroke* has been guilty of it here too.

Had he been as well acquainted with the History of this interesting period, the Character, Connexions, &c. of the principal Persons who figured at that time on the public Stage, scattered up and down in Tully's works, as one would imagine from his Lordship's fifth Letter *, he must have known the Character of *Bibulus*, who was Proconsul of *Syria* at the same time that *Tully* was of *Cilicia*; the ill Terms that the two neighbouring Governors were on with respect to one another; that *Bibulus* had been really guilty of that impudent Vanity the Critic ascribes to the other; had not only not surprized and pillaged a few *Higblanders*, but, attempting to rival *Cicero*, had been shamefully beat by them on his side *Amanus*, having lost a whole Regiment, with some Officers of Distinction; that having done nothing with regard to the *Parthians*, he pretended to have done every thing; that the next Year, when he was under apprehension of *Antioch's* being besieged a second

* Lett. Hist. v. p. 163.

time,

time, and his greatest Hope was in *Cicero's* Assistance, the *public Interest* could not prevail on his *private Passions* to apply himself to the Proconsul of *Cilicia*; but his Legates and Quæstor were forced, on their own Authority, to beg *Cicero's* Assistance; who, preferring his Duty to his Country to distressing a private Enemy, sent his Troops to the Frontiers. All this his Lordship might have known from other Letters of the same time *, and from this very Letter he refers to; and yet, that *Bibulus*, in a *most impudent* Letter, as *Cicero* calls it, notified to the Senate that he had driven the *Parthians* out of his Province; which public Letter was attended with a *most ample* Supplication †; and this on *Cato's Motion*. *Cicero* was stung with Indignation at hearing this, and expresses his present Resentment against *Cato*, in all the undisguised Freedom of a Letter to *Atticus*. The Reader will see it best in his own Words: “ *Cato* shew’d
 “ his ill Will to me in a shameful Manner.
 “ He bore Testimony to my Superiority to
 “ all Temptations of Money, to my Justice,

* Fam. L. ii. E. 17. Att. L. vi. E. 5.

† Ante *Bibuli impudentissimas literas*, quas *Supplicatio amplissimè* (or *amplissima*) *consecuta est*. ib.

“ my Clemency, my Honour, which I did
 “ not desire : What I expected, that he re-
 “ fused me. On which, how does *Cæsar*,
 “ in the Letter wherein he congratulates and
 “ promises me every thing, exult on this
 “ injurious Treatment of *Cato*, the most
 “ ungrateful man alive to me! But that
 “ the same man should move for *Twenty*
 “ *Days* for *Bibulus* — excuse me, this is
 “ what I cannot bear, nor will I bear it *.”

Cicero's

* *Cato quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, justitiæ, clementiæ, fidei mihi testimonium, quod non quærebam : Quod postulabam, negavit id. Itaque Cæsar iis literis, quibus mihi gratulatur et omnia pollicetur, quomodo exultat Catonis, in me ingratißimi, injuria? At hic idem Bibulo dierum xx—ignosce mihi non possum hæc ferre, nec feram.*

Some of the most celebrated Critics, *Ursinus*, *Grævius*, and *Gronovius*, have here prefer'd the reading of a single Manuscript, *decrevit*, to that of *dierum xx*, which all the rest have but one, which has *xxx*, and understand it of the Supplication of *one Day*, principally for the Extravagance of the *Number* of Days : Extravagant indeed, if the Measure was to be taken from the Practice of former Ages ; where Five Days seems to have been the greatest Number ever allowed to these Supplications. No more were decreed *Æmilius* on the Conquest of *Macedonia* (*Livy*, L. xlv. 2.) nor *Marius* : *Cicero* was the Person who first, in Compliment to *Pompey*, doubled the old Number, on the Reduction of *Mithridates*. The Number, after the Precedent once set, soon grew. *Cicero* himself voted *Cæsar*, for the Actions of his Second Campaign in *Gaul*, Fifteen Days (*de Prov. Cons.* Sec. 11.) Two Years after, on his Expedition

Cicero's Resentment rises on these Views ; that *he* had conquered, where *Bibulus* had been defeated ; that the Retreat of the *Parthians* was owing to their Apprehensions of *his* Forces, not of the Forces of *Bibulus* ; in short, that *Bibulus* had done nothing ; and yet a Supplication, a Supplication of *so many Days*, of *more* than had been decreed him, had been decreed *Bibulus* : For this the indignant Break of the Expression plainly implies ; without it, the animated Resentment that follows is flat and enervate. There was one Consideration indeed, which, had *Cato* not been *CATO*, or the Affair of *Bibulus* been quite independent of that of *Cicero*,

petition into *Britain*, it was increased to *Twenty Days*, (*Cæs. de Bell. Gal. L. iv. c. ult.*) Afterwards, on the Defeat of *Anthony* at *Mutina*, on *Cicero's* Motion, a Supplication of *Fifty Days* were decreed (*Phil. xiv. 11.*) In the midst of this Increase, the being delivered from the Apprehensions of the *Parthians*, when they were threatened with a Civil War at home, might well be thought to deserve *Twenty Days*. For tho' *Bibulus* did little, he pretended to do all. But if the Number be thought extravagant, the Critics know how easily ix or xi, in transcribing, pass into xx. And it is probable that the Supplication of *Cicero* was for *more than one Day* ; otherwise there would have been no need, in order to take off *Curius*, for the Consul to declare that he would not publish the Supplication in that Year ; it would have been sufficient to say that *the Day* should not be a *Comitial Day* (*Fam. L. viii. 11.*). The Warmth of the Resentment is more extravagant, and the Beauty of the *Apophysis* lost, if we suppose the Supplication of *Bibulus* to have been only that of *one Day*.

ought

ought to have soften'd his Resentment against his old Friend. *Bibulus* was *Cato's* Father-in-law; but *Cato's* rigid Regard to Truth and the Public, independant of all private Considerations, would not admit of that *Lenitive* *. I am willing, however, to allow the Resentment here to have been carried too far. *Cicero* was a *Man*; but was not Lord *Bolingbroke* too? What Right had *he* to throw the first Stone? Did his Lordship resent what he thought injurious, less? Or, had he been in *Cicero's* Case, would he have behaved with more Temper towards those who stood in the Way of his Carreer to Honour; or would he have forgiven such an Injury sooner, or indeed ever? His whole

* We have in *Dio Cassius* a Fact, which, if true (and *Cato* might be supposed to know it, though *Cicero* did not) will exculpate *Cato* from that Partiality to his Father-in law, which reflects a greater Dishonour on *Cato's* Character, than *Cicero's* Resentment here against *Cato* does on *Cicero's*. We are there told, that the Retreat of the *Parthians*, the latter of the two Years, from *Syria*, was owing to the Address of *Bibulus*; who, putting in Practice an old Piece of true Policy, that the best way to keep an enterprizing Prince from being troublesome to his Neighbours, is to find him work at home, had gained over one of the *Parthian* Chiefs to set the Son against the Father, and turn his Arms against him. 'Tis certain we hear no more of the *Parthians* in the *Roman* Dominions for some Years after, tho' the Interval afforded, for the greatest Part of the time, the most favourable Opportunity; their Civil Wars at home, and the East drained of all its Strength, to support one Side.

Life, while he lived, and his *Writings*, the *particular Part* we have now under Consideration, will be, as long as his Writings shall last, a *Proof to the contrary*. As to *Cicero*, we hear no more of his Resentment against *Cato*, after this Letter: In the next to his Friend, wrote within a Fortnight, we see him accepting of an Expression in *Cato's* Speech, on that Occasion, which seemed to carry with it a Compliment to *Bibulus*, but did really to *Cicero*, as a kind of Apology * for all.

* Speaking of *Bibulus* having quitted his Province, he says, *in decedendo erit, ut audio, tardior: Quem cum ornavit Cato, declaravit iis se solis non invidere, quibus nihil, aut non multum, ad dignitatem posset accedere.* *Popma*, and *Grævius* after him, make *Cato's* Excuse for promoting the Supplication of *Bibulus* to be this, that it could not give him any Influence, which might make his Authority too great for a particular Person; the Inactivity of his former Consulship with *Cæsar* being a sufficient Preservative against any Fears of that kind. This is undoubtedly the Force of *Cato's* Excuse; and looks as if he had intended it for an Excuse to *Cicero*, as well as the *Public*, and a *Rationale* of the different Conduct he had observed in *Cicero's* Case: It is also an Excuse, which is founded in his Opinion of the much greater Importance of the *one* Man than the *other*; and which, while it thus appeases the Offended, must be owned to be *right Policy* in general. The Evil which did then afflict, and was come to such a Crisis, as to be just on the Point of turning a Government, in its original Constitution the best balanced for Liberty, into one of the worst Tyrannies that ever plagued Mankind, was the very Evil which *Cato* has in View.

But

But if *Bibulus* imposed upon the Senate by a false Account of his Actions, why might not *Cicero* too? Or how can the Judgment of even the *Senate* be a sufficient Proof of the real Importance of the Services of the Proconsul of *Cilicia*, when it is not so of the Proconsul of *Syria*? The public Letter of *Cicero* on this Occasion is lost; but there is no doubt that it was to the same Purport as the Letter to *Cato*, so far as the Relation of *Cicero's* Atchievements extends; and that the one may be used as a *Succedaneum* to the other. Now the Substance of that is verified by other Letters, wrote a good while before to intimate Friends, in Confidence, and particularly to one whom he could have no Design to impose on, to his other self, *Atticus*.

But enough of *Cicero's* Vanity in expecting a Supplication, and of *Cato's* not proposing it in *Cicero's* Behalf, and enough of the Truth of Lord *Bolingbroke's* Representation of both; if it be involuntary, and the Object of either the *natural Turn*, or the *natural Passions*, of his Lordship's Genius, it is such an Instance of *careless Reading*, if voluntary, of such a *Perversion* of the natural Impressions of human Nature, *Love of Truth*, and *Reverence for Merit* and *Decency*, that no Man's Word, who has been
con-

convicted of either, ever ought to be taken any more.

S E C T. VII.

CICERO, I presume, has been sufficiently exculpated of the Charge of *mad Vanity*, brought against him by this *discerning, exact, impartial* Critic; but another, and more odious, remains, IMPUDENCE. For Vanity is only *ridiculous*, and the madder it is, the more so; but Impudence is *odious*. However, one thing already appears, that it was not so great as to *insist on obtaining what already had been refused him*, as his Lordship represents the matter; and a farther Examination of the *Roman's* Conduct, with regard to obtaining the other and greater Honour, the Triumph, which he is charged with impudently insisting on, will, instead of an *odious*, place him in a most *amiable* Light; and shew that the LOVE OF HIS COUNTRY was superior to all Motives of *Self*.

In the Letter to *Cato*, on which the noble Critic has been so severe, *Cicero* endeavours to convince his stoical Friend, that the Motives of his soliciting *the Honours usually decreed to Conquerors*, were not Motives of *Vanity*,

Vanity, but *Prudence*; and perfectly reconcilable with the Character of a *Philosopher*, as well as a *Roman*. Perhaps there was not a Man in the *Roman* Senate to whom *Cicero* needed to have made this Apology, besides *Cato*, who *lived* the *Philosopher* he *pretended* to: The rest would have despised the Man who could have despised the *Glory*. *Cicero*, however, professes to *Cato* a *Mind* above the national Weakness of his Countrymen, who, in their Idea of *Glory*, confounded those *Honours* which OUGHT to be the *Reward of true Glory*, with *true Glory* itself, or the MERITING those *Honours*. He boldly professes a Contempt for “ *empty Praise*, “ *and the Talk of the Vulgar* ;” and appeals to his *Consulship*, and his *whole Life*, for the *Truth* of this: And tho’ he had studiously pursued those Things by which *true Glory* might be acquired, yet he never thought that *Glory* itself was to be desired for itself: By which he means the *Roman Honours*, as appears by the Instances he gives; his quitting a Province formally assigned him, and the undoubted Prospect of a Triumph (he means *Macedonia*, which he quitted to his Collegue, in order to secure him to the Interest of his Country against *Catiline*, as even *Sallust* vouches); and never soliciting for a Priesthood,

hood, which he could without much Difficulty, as might easily be imagined, have obtained. But, after his *Exile*, he thought Measures of a different Kind ought to be pursued, and that no Opportunity of the the most honourable Testimony of the Regard of the Senate and People for him was to be neglected, when it offered: That it was with this View he had accepted of the Augurate, and now desired the Honour which the Senate usually conferred on military Services *. Nor, as much as Vanity is generally thought the Blemish of *Cicero's* Character, or as artful as this Letter is, does it appear that this Representation of him-

* *Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrinâ, ab inani laude & sermonibus vulgi, ego profectò is sum. Testis est consulatus meus: in quo, sicut in reliqua vita, fateor, ea me studiose secutum, ex quibus vera gloria nasci posset: ipsam quidem gloriam per se nunquam putavi expetendam. Itaque & provinciam ornatam, & spem non dubiam triumphi, neglexi. Sacerdotium denique, cum (quemadmodum te existimare arbitror) non difficillimè consequi possem, non appetivi. Idem post injuriam acceptam, quam tu reipublicæ calamitatem semper appellas, meam non modo non calamitatem, sed etiam gloriam, studui quam ornatissima senatus populi que Romani de me judicia intercedere. Itaque & augur postea fieri volui, quod antea neglexeram: & eum honorem, qui à senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet, neglectum à me olim, nunc mihi expetendum puto. Ad Fam. L. xv. E. 4.*

M

self,

self, and the Change of his Maxims and Measures in this respect, is made in order to curry Favour with a Stoic; for, to his Friend, where there was no Room for Art, he has the very same, when he says of the Triumph, " 'Tis a thing, I think, not to be neglected, because of this NEW BIRTH, " παλιγγενεσία, of ours *." Had Lord Bolingbroke light on this Passage, he would undoubtedly have entertained us as much with the *new Birth* of his *Tully*, as with the *Attonement, Propitiation, Purgation, Expiation, and Satisfaction*, of *Codrus* and the *Decii* †; and perhaps, instead of the RESURRECTION of Letters, which other less humorous Writers generally call *Revival*, the stated Term would have been the REGENERATION of Letters.

'Tis plain, however, from the Manner in which he mentions it to *Atticus*, that he was not PASSIONATELY FOND of it. It appears, indeed, from the First Mention of a Triumph to him, which was about Two Months before, that he thought but slightly

* *Rem à nobis, ut ego arbitror, propter hanc παλιγγενεσίαν nostram, non negligendam.* L. vi. E. 6.

† Lett. on Hist. p. 63.

of it: " The Actions are deserving of a
 " Triumph; but about the obtaining it I
 " shall do nothing *fondly*; and without your
 " Advice, be assured, nothing at all *." The
 distinguished Manner in which his public
 Letter was received, the Thanksgiving de-
 creed him, and the Letters of Congratulation
 he had from his Friends, who, as he ex-
 presses it, "*invited him to the Triumph* †,"
 made him think more seriously of it, and
 resolve on obtaining it, if it could be had
 without making it a Point, and embroiling
 the Senate, who had their Hands full already
 of more interesting Business. The Maxim
 he professed to proceed on, in his Answer to
Cato, who was not indeed among the Friends
 that invited him to it, was, " That the Ho-
 " nour was not too much to be desired; but
 " if it was deferred to him by the Senate,
 " it was by no means to be despised ‡." And that it was the Rule of Conduct he re-
 ally proposed to himself, is evident from his
 Letter to his Friend, to whom all his Heart

* *Res gestæ dignæ triumpho: de quo ipso nihil cupidè
 agemus; sine tuo quidem consilio certè nihil.* L. 6. E. 3.

† *Ad triumphum vocant.* L. vi. E. 6, 8.

‡ *Non nimis concupiscendus honos: sed tamen, si defe-
 ratur à senatu, minime aspernandus esse videtur.* Ad Fam.
 L. xv. E. 6.

was open, as well as that his Design, and the Manner of pursuing it, had the Sanction of his Friend's Approbation *, to which he paid great Deference. It was the Pretension of *Bibulus*, which raised him out of his Indifference; and the ample *Supplication*, and at *Cato's Motion*, which warmed him into Resentment against *Cato*, and Indignation at the Thought of the Man's Triumphant, who had done nothing, and himself, who had deserved what the other impudently pretended to, being ignominiously passed by. But Lord *Bolingbroke*, in Honour to himself, has inverted the Case, and with uncommon Sagacity bestowed the *Impudence* on the Man that deserved the Triumph. After having expostulated to *Atticus* on the Case—"For
 " me not to obtain the same, is a Disgrace to
 " us, to us I say, to you in Conjunction with
 " me;" his Resolution was, "THEREFORE I
 " WILL TRY EVERY THING; AND I HOPE
 " I SHALL OBTAIN IT †." This is the
 impu-

* L. vi. E. 9. L. vii. E. 3.

† *De triumpho autem, nulla me cupiditas unquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas literas, quas amplissima supplicatio consecuta est: à quo si ea gesta sunt, quæ scripsit, gauderem, & honori faverem. Nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri; me, in cujus exercitu spes illius exercitus habuit, idem non assequi, dedecus est nostrum, nostrum inquam,*

impudent insisting on obtaining a Triumph, which his Lordship must mean. But, if he ever saw the *Place*, one would imagine that he saw nothing more than the Words themselves, without looking forward to what follows in the next immediate Letter, or back to what immediately goes before, even in the same Letter. In one he might have seen the Reason of *Tully's* Resentment, as well as his *Resolution*; in the other, how *gloriously* he *desisted*, instead of *impudently insisting* on obtaining the Triumph.

In the very next Letter, we find him telling his Friend, “ that notwithstanding the “ Business of the Triumph, great as it was, “ he would fling aside all Thoughts of it, if “ that was the righter Measure;” openly to declare himself, “ that it was impossible to “ do both, to pursue the Business of the “ Triumph effectually, and speak his Sentiments of the Public freely *.” If he had

quam, te conjungens. Itaque omnia experiar, & ut spero, assequar. L. vii. E. 2.

* *Quin nunc ipsum non dubitabo rem tantam abjicere, si id erit rectius. Utrumque verò simul agi non potest, & de triumpho ambitiosè, & de republica liberè. Sed ne dubitaris, quin, quod honestius, id mihi futurum sit antiquius. L. vii. E. 3.*

pursued

purſued the Reſolutions of the angry Letter, the Way to what he inſiſted on was open enough. The Chiefs of both Parties had engaged their Intereſt to him, and were both courting his Favour * : And he had nothing to do but to make haſte to *Rome*, to trim between both Parties, and carry his Point : But the Public, his own Character, and Decency, ſtood in the Way. His Reſolution was to *vote with Pompey*, but to *act for Peace*, and come into any tolerable Meaſures of *Cæſar* that would prevent a civil War † : The former his Character, and the Expectation of the Public, required of him ; the latter the Public itſelf. He had beſides another Difficulty, which was a very extraordinary one for ſo *impudent* a Man : He was in Debt to *Cæſar*, and thought it indecent to be in Debt to a Man, whoſe Party he was determined not to follow ; and the Money

* *Erat enim (ſermo POMPEII Neopolitanus) de re publica, de opinione, quam is vir haberet integritatis meæ ; de benevolentia, quam oſtendit eo ſermone, quem habuit de triumpho. — Itaque CÆSAR in iis literis, quibus mihi gratulatur, & omnia pollicetur. Ad Att. L. vii. E. 2.*

† *Dic M. Tulli σύντομα. CN. POMPEIO ASSENTIO. Ipſum tamen Pompeium ſeparatim ad concordiam hortabor. Sic enim ſentio : maximo in periculo rem eſſe. In the ſame Book, E. 3. Ego is ſum, qui, illi concedi, putem utilius eſſe quod poſtulat, quam ſigna conferri. Ib. E. 5. See alſo his laſt Ep. before he went to Rome. Ib. E. 9.*

that

that was designed for the Triumph must go of course to pay the Debt *. Instead, therefore, of hasting to *Rome*, and currying Favour with both Parties, which if he had so impudently insisted on a Triumph, he most certainly would have done, it was a Month, within a few Days, from the Letter in which he declares his Resolution of abandoning all Thoughts of the Triumph, should the Interest of the Public require it, till he arrived at *Rome*; tho' he was then in *Italy*, and in the Neighbourhood of the unfortunate *Herculaneum*, which now engages the Attention of all the Curious. This Delay seems to have been owing to a Conversation the next Day after he wrote it with *Pompey*, who pressed him much to pursue the Business of the Triumph, promised all his Assistance, and prevailed on him to temporize a little, and not come into the Senate till every thing was ready, lest he should discover his Sentiments on some Debate †. In another Let-

* *Est enim αμορφον, αντιπολιτευομένης χρεοφιλέτην esse.*
Ib. E. 8.

† *Magnâ lætitia mihi visus est affici meo adventu: de triumpho hortari, suscipere partes suas: monere, ne ante in senatum accederem, quam rem confecissem; ne dicendis sententiis, aliquem tribunum alienarem.* Ad Att. L. vii. E. 4.

ter, during this Interval, he mentions the fair Prospect he had of *quietly carrying his Point*, unless *Cæsar* should under-hand by his Tribunes obstruct it; and at the same time he shews his *Indifference* about it *.

In the Beginning of *January*, the 4th, he goes to *Rome*; here the Intelligence of his Letters to *Atticus* leaves us; but those to *Tyro*, as much to be depended on, as written in the utmost Confidence, supply the Defect. It was usual, on the Return of the Imperators to the City, to go in Procession to meet them: This was so numerous on *Cicero's* Arrival the Day before the Nones, "that nothing could possibly do him more Honour." Things were now come to an Extremity; the violent Partizans of both Sides were as deaf to all *Cicero's* Instances and Exhortations to Peace and Accommodation †, as Lord *Bolingbroke* was blind to every

* *De honore nostro, nisi quid occultè Cæsar per suos tribunos molitus erit, cætera videntur esse tranquilla. Tranquillissimus autem animus meus, qui totum istuc æqui boni facit. Ad Att. L. vii. E. 7.*

† *Ego ad urbem accessi pridie nonas Januar. obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil posset fieri ornatus. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiæ, vel potius belli; cui cum cuperem mederi, & ut arbitror, possem, cupiditates*

every thing that makes against his Scheme of new Discovery, and Fame of superior Abilities. The Decree of Senate, which put every thing in a Flame, and the Flight of the Tribunes of the Commons, who were of *Cæsar's* Party, to *Cæsar*, was on the Third Day after his Arrival *. On the First Day that *Cicero* could appear in the Senate, when it was held without the City, which was immediately after the *extraordinary Decree* †, the full Senate called out with Impatience for *Cicero's* Triumph; but *Lentulus* the Consul, that he might enhance the Favour, by making an Application to him for the Question necessary, evaded it then, by saying, that he would put it as soon as he had dispatched the emergent Business of the State ‡; and indeed emergent it was, so emergent that the Question of *Cicero's* Triumph was not put at all. *Cæsar* advanced

tates certorum hominum (nam ex utraque parte sunt, qui pugnare cupiant) impedimento mihi fuerunt omnino. Ad Fam. L. xvi. E. II.

* Id. Jan. *Cæsar* de Bell. Civil. L. i. c. 5.

† Ib. c. 6.

‡ *Nobis inter has turbas senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum: sed Lentulus consul, quo magis suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quæ essent necessaria de republica, dixit se relaturum. Ad Fam. L. xvi. E. II.*

N.

with

with such Rapidity, that *Pompey*, the Consul, almost all the Magistrates, fled, and *Cicero* amongst the rest (not satisfied with slaying, and dissatisfied with going) to the Post that had been assigned him on the Distribution that immediately followed the inflaming Decree *. The Civil War broke out, and put an End at once to the Patriot's Triumph, and to the Liberty of his Country. On putting off the Question, when clamoured for by the Senate, *Cicero* kept with Constancy to his First Resolution, and the Advice of *Atticus*: As he had proved himself not VAIN in solliciting, he shew'd himself NOT WITHOUT HIS PRIDE †, in not insisting on his Affair being brought on; and 'twas that noble Indifference which “gave him
“ *the more Authority* ‡.” *Plutarch* has preserved an Expression of *Cicero*'s in the Senate on this Occasion, that does Honour to him, and Disgrace to Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Sarcastism, that “it would be a greater Pleasure to him,
“ if an Accommodation could be effected,

* Ad Fam. L. xvi. E. 12. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. ib. c. 6, &c.

† In quo, ut præcipis, nec me νεὺν in expetendo cognosces, nec ἀτυξων abjiciendo. Ad Att. L. xvi. E. 9.

‡ Nos agimus nihil cupidè, eoque est nostra pluris auctoritas. Ad Fam. L. xvi. E. 11.

“ to follow *Cæsar* in Triumph, than to
 “ triumph himself *.” So *impudently* did
 this great and good Man *insist* on obtaining a
 Triumph !

So just upon the Whole is Lord *Boling-
 broke's* Representation of *Cicero*—That he
 had no Enemy of Consequence OPPOSED to
 him—that *all his military Feats consisted in*
surprising and pillaging a few Highlanders
and wild Cilicians—that, notwithstanding,
*he described his Actions in so pompous a man-
 ner, that the Account becomes burlesque*—
 that in expecting the Honours usually de-
 creed to Conquerors, and resenting *Cato's*
 not proposing them, *Vanity had turned his*
Head—that, notwithstanding *Cato's* Refusal,
he impudently insisted on obtaining a Triumph.
 Can the Reader forbear asking from what
Motive all this Contumely ? from a *Love of*
Truth ? which is plainly prostituted by Mis-
 representation, or direct Falsehood, in every
 Particular. From some other *blinding* Pas-
 sion ? the *Vanity of aspiring after the Fame*
of superior Penetration, new Discovery, a

* Ἐν μὲν ἔν τῇ βύλῃ ἡφιζομένων αὐτῷ θρίαμβον, ἥδ' ἴον,
 ἀν' ἔφθ παρακληθεῖσαι Κάισαρι θριαμβεύοντι, συμβάσεων γε-
 νομένων. In Cic. vitâ. Ed. Steph. p. 1611.

great Genius, which is to rise on Insult over the Character of one of the greatest Men of Antiquity? or *Malevolence to any Merit but his own*, one of the most detestable of Characters? or to a *Mixture of both*?—*Facit indignatio*—

A Defence of *Cicero's* Character against the Imputation of *Vanity in general*, might perhaps be here expected. His *Defence* may, I hear it has (for I must own I have never read the Work *) *been carried too far*; but *I am sure the Accusation has*. My Title-Page promises no more than a Vindication of this great Man against Lord *Bolingbroke's* Censure in particular; and that has grown so much under my Pen beyond Expectation, that I can only, without going too much out of my Way, just observe,—That *Cicero's* natural Abilities were not perhaps *inferior* to Lord *Bolingbroke's*, his *acquired* much *superior*; and yet I do not recollect *one* Instance, I will not say of *Pride*, but of *harmless Vanity*, with regard to them; tho' I do many of *remarkable Modesty*.—As to *Honours*, he was never ashamed to own that

* *Middleton's* Life of *Cicero*.

he was a NEW Man.—There is nothing more *joyous* than the CONSCIOUSNESS OF GREAT AND GOOD ACTIONS: And if, in the midst of the Enjoyment, there be some Overflowings of Heart in Confidence to a Friend, as in his Letters to *Atticus*, during the time of his Government, on his Contempt of the epidemical Vice of his Times, the lucrative Part of Government, and his Moderation in it; that ought not to be called *Vanity*, which is only *Consciousness in Confidence*. The great Glory of his Life was undoubtedly *Catiline* and his *Consulate*: And if he SHIELDS himself under this against the Attacks of Calumny, and Brigues of Faction, neither is this *Vanity*, but *Self-defence*: If it stands *so far out*, as sometimes to look like Ostentation, how excusable is this in a Man who had *saved his Country* almost with his *own Hands*! how different from confessedly, if not from Ambition, yet from Resentment, *lending a Hand* towards the *Ruin of his Country*; a Stain which a Thousand Letters to Sir *William Wyndham* will never wipe away!—That *Cicero's* Object of *Glory*, however, was not the *mere Consciousness of deserving*, is evident from the Letter to *Lucceius*. Tho' he was superior

perior to the *Glory of Honours*, yet he was not to the *Glory of the Veneration of Mankind*, in future as well as the present Age: And who is? 'Tis certain not Lord *Bolingbroke*. Whatever were *Cicero's* other Passions, the GOVERNING PASSION was the LOVE OF HIS COUNTRY.

S E C T. VIII.

“ **I**S it any STRAIN now to suppose, that
 “ he meant to insinuate, in the Passage I
 “ have quoted about *Lucullus*, that the Dif-
 “ ference between him and the former Go-
 “ vernor of *Cilicia*, even in military Merit,
 “ arose from the different Conjunction alone?
 “ and that *Lucullus* could not have done in
 “ *Cilicia* at that time more than he himself
 “ did?” When a Man's Head is turned, it
 is no Strain indeed to suppose any thing of
 him, be it ever so absurd. But as Justice has
 been done to the Head as well as the Heart
 of *Cicero*, and Lord *Bolingbroke* has been
 discovered straining in every Line, and so
 far overstraining his Sagacity, as to make *Ci-*
cero, to facilitate his Views to a Triumph,
 so cunning as to publish a Falsehood, which
 could serve no one Purpose but to obstruct it;
 and

and to do it too, in order to obtain that which he had lost all Hopes of ever obtaining; this considered, the Reader may possibly doubt whether there be not some Strain here too. Let us here then again examine—
 “Whether what Tully says, *In Asiam factus Imperator venit Lucullus, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis,*” be FALSE IN FACT; which is now the Point, abstracted from the Critic’s Pretensions of Cicero’s forging these Facts, and his Design in doing it, which have been sufficiently considered.

The Fact, a Fact of his own Times, Cicero asserts, Lord Bolingbroke denies. “*Lucullus,*” says his Lordship, “had served in his Youth against the *Marfi*, probably in other Wars, and Sylla took early Notice of him: He went into the *East* with this General, and had a great Share in his Confidence. He commanded in several Expeditions. It was he who restored the *Colophonians* to Liberty, and who punished the Revolt of the People of *Mytelene*.” This is the Fact, it seems; and if this be so, as his Lordship has represented, the Reader will make no Difficulty in acquiescing in the

Conclusion he makes in the next Words :
 “ Thus we see that *Lucullus* was formed by
 “ Experience as well as Study ;” tho’ per-
 haps he may have some little Objection to
 what follows ; “ and by an Experience gain-
 “ ed in *those very Countries*, where he ga-
 “ thered so many *Laurels* afterwards in
 “ fighting against the same Enemy ;” for
 the Experience was gained in the *Ægean* and
 the Coasts of *Asia* bordering on it ; but the
 many *Laurels* were gathered in Countries
 where *Lucullus* had never set his Foot be-
 fore. But this is but one more small Instance
 of Want of *Exactness*, small indeed among
 so many greater. The principal Thing is
 the Fact.

It is a Rule, I think, in Criticism, that
 when Authors seem to differ in their Accounts,
 those seeming Differences ought to be recon-
 ciled, if they can be, and Expressions under-
 stood, if it depends on that, and the Lan-
 guage will bear it, in such a Sense as will re-
 concile them ; and if this cannot be fairly
 done, that Author, whose Authority is greatest,
 and that Account, which in those Circum-
 stances is most probable, is plainly to be pre-
 ferred. That Lord Bolingbroke and the
 Roman

Roman are irreconcilable, we have on the Word of Lord *Bolingbroke* himself. 'Tis plain he thought so; for supposing his Account to be *the Truth*, as he says, *Cicero's* could not be *false*, unless it was contrary to it, and irreconcilable with it. We have then these two contrary Accounts on *Authority*, one on *Cicero's*, and the other on Lord *Bolingbroke's*; for he gives it us on no Authority but his own. Now whether Lord *Bolingbroke's* Word is here to be taken, or *Cicero's*, can be no Question at all, according to *this* Rule of Criticism: Nay, according to the Critic's *own Rule*, in another Place *, that no Credit is to be given to any Account, but what " must be written by a " cotemporary *Author*, or by one who had " cotemporary *Materials* in his Hands," no Credit can be given to his Account here, who was near Two thousand Years from being a Cotemporary himself, and on that Authority alone contradicts to his Reader a cotemporary Authority. His Lordship's *Word*, therefore, *here at least*, is nothing. The Question is concerning an *antient Matter of Fact*, of which he can know nothing but

* Lett. on *Tillotson*. 8^o Edit. Vol. V. p. 337.

from *some antient Author*; and whether *Cicero* and *that antient Author* can be reconciled, is the Point. That *Author* our Critic here, and frequently elsewhere, leaves his Reader to guess at; which if he cannot do, his *Reading*, or at least his *Judging* of what he reads, is at an End at once. However, 'tis more easy here to say *who* the Author is, than what his Lordship's *Motive* could be for giving us the Fact on *his own Authority*, rather than his *Author's*. As agreeable as *Dogmatizing* may be to a Man who has a full Sense of his own superior Abilities, yet could our noble Critic imagine, that his *Reader* would think, could he indeed think *himself*, that in a Case where his Authority is really nothing at all, it should be greater than *PLUTARCH's*? For from him, or rather from *Amyot's* Translation of him, his Lordship has all this. I will not here inquire into the Cause of this odd *Phænomenon*, whether it was the *Pride of Dogmatizing*, *Indolence*, *Art*, or whatever else it might be; but chusing rather to take *Plutarch's* Account of *Lucullus*, than Lord *Bolingbroke's* Account of *Plutarch*, I will consider the Author's own Account of this Matter, shew the Difference between that
and

and Lord *Bolingbroke's* Account, and then compare *Plutarch* with *Cicero*.

“ LUCULLUS was but young at the time
 “ of the *Marſic* War, and gave many Proofs
 “ of his Courage and good Understanding;
 “ but SYLLA took notice of him more for
 “ his Conſtancy and Mildneſs, and continued
 “ from the firſt to make uſe of him in Af-
 “ fairs which required the greateſt Care and
 “ Diligence; among which was the Buſi-
 “ neſs of the Coinage *.” For SYLLA, ſuch
 were the Diſtreſſes of the State at that time †,
 was forced to find Money for the War, as
 well as to make War on MITHRIDATES:
Greece, and even the Temples, found the
 Materials, and LUCULLUS had the Care of
 converting the dead Riches into the Money
 neceſſary for the War, which the General
 thought he wanted more than the Gods did ||.
 LUCULLUS makes a much more military Fi-

* Νέος δ' ὢν ἐν τῷ Μαρσικῷ πολέμῳ, πολλὰ μὲν τόλμης
 δειγμάτων παρέσχε καὶ συνέσεως· μάλλον γεμὴν αὐτὸν δι'
 εὐσάθειαν καὶ πραότητος, Σύλλας προσεχάγετο καὶ χρώμενος
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ πλείους ἀξία σπουδῆς διετέλεσεν, ὧν ἦν
 καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα πραγματεία, δι' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐκόπη τὸ
 πλεῖστον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, περὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον.
 Plut. Lucull. Ed. Steph. p. 899.

† Appian. Mithridat. Ed. Car. Steph. p. 121.

|| Plut. Sylla, Ed. Steph. p. 839, &c.

gure in Lord *Bolingbroke's* Account of the Matter. " He had served in his Youth, " against the *Marfi*, *probably in other Wars* ; " and SYLLA took early Notice of him : " He went into the East with this General, " and had a great Share in his Confidence."

One would imagine, from this Representation, that LUCULLUS had spent his Youth in *military* instead of *forensic* Studies, as TULLY says, in Battles and Sieges, and collecting the Experience that was afterwards to form the General ; that *then* SYLLA had taken Notice of him for his military Character ; and that it was this, which, some Years after, occasioned his going into the East with that General, and gave him a great Share in his Confidence. As to *all other Wars*, besides the *Marfic*, it is a *clear Addition of his Lordship* ; and the *Probability* lies the other Way, that he served in no other, because *Plutarch* mentions no other. Now the Service against the *Marfi* *could not be above Two or Three Years* ; for the War lasted no longer ; and *probably Plutarch* means only *one Year*, the last Year, when the *Heat* of the War was over indeed, but not the War itself *, in SYLLA's Consulship, and when

* Compare Appian. Mithrid. ubi sup. & Bell. Civ. p. 181.

LUCULLUS was his Quæstor (a kind of Commissary-General and Treasurer together) during that Year in *Italy*; for the Account of both are in the same Period, and seem to relate to one and the same thing.

'Tis certain, however, that it was not for his *military Services*, that SYLLA, in *Plutarch*, took Notice of him; and that the next Year after, LUCULLUS went into *Greece* with him in the same Character. This Year the long Siege of *Athens* began, and the Coinage Affair was carried on; not at the Siege (for he does not appear to have had any Share in that or any other military Operations of that Year) but in *Peloponnesus* *. SYLLA was Master by Land; but the Enemy were Masters of the Sea, and distressed him for Provisions. In order to open the Sea, he sent " LUCULLUS into *Egypt* and "*Lybia*, to get together a Fleet from " thence. 'Twas then the Midst of Winter †. In this Commission he gave abundant Proofs of those great Qualities on

* Plut. Lucull. ubi sup.

† Ἐξέπεμψε αὐτὸν (Leg. ἐπ.) Ἀργύρης καὶ Λιβύης τὸν Ἀέκκαλον ἀξίοντα ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν· ἦν μὲν ἐν ἀκμῇ χειμῶνος. Plut. Lucull. p. 900.

which

which SYLLA depended. He brought over most of the maritime States of *Asiatic Greece* from the King's to the *Roman* Interest, and commanded the Fleet he got together. In this Service, joining the *Colophonians*, who were oppressed by a Tyrant of the King's Party, he restored them to Liberty, and beat the Fleet of *Mithridates* in Two Engagements *. But these Expeditions were purely *maritime*; and in this Commission of negotiating and commanding the Fleet was LUCULLUS employed during all the rest of the War, from the First Winter; nor was with the Army during the whole time. The Affair of *Mitylene* was after the Peace which SYLLA made with MITHRIDATES, when LUCULLUS was left Quæstor of *Asia*, and had the Charge of raising the Contributions imposed by SYLLA, on which the *Mitylenians* revolted, and were reduced by LUCULLUS: But this too was a maritime Service. He sailed thither, and beat them in an Engagement † (PLUTARCH does not say, whether by Land or Sea); and pretended formally to besiege the Town, but took it by

* Plut. Lucull. p. 900, 901, 902.

† Ἐπιπλεύσας, ἐκράτησε μάχῃ, καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὰ τείχη, &c. Ib. p 903.

Stratagem: And the whole seems to have been but the Work of a few Days. That the Expeditions of LUCULLUS were *only maritime*, doth not at all appear in Lord *Bolingbroke*. He knew better how to make *Plutarch* serve his Purpose. For, by his Words, “ he commanded in several Expeditions,” &c. any Reader would imagine that he had commanded Part of the *Army* under SYLLA, and had been sent by him with at least a strong Detachment of it on those Services.

How well furnished soever with all the previous military Experience necessary to form the consummate General, LUCULLUS may appear in Lord *Bolingbroke*’s *Account* of him from *Plutarch*; ’tis plain, however, in *Plutarch*’s own *Account*, that it amounted to no more, before his Government of *Cilicia*, than *One or Two Campaigns*, made in the *Marfic War*, and *One or Two Years Command of a Fleet*. Now, unless Serving in *One or Two Campaigns* be *sufficient Experience to form an accomplished General* (and if it be, Lord *Bolingbroke*’s Doctrine of the Necessity of Experience in order thereto falls to the Ground), or a *Sea-Officer*, by

2

serving

*serving at Sea, becomes an experienced Land-Officer, 'tis plain that this great General had not his superior Skill in the military Art from Experience ! No Man will say he had, not the noble Critic himself, who strains Plutarch to shew that he had more, only because he thought more necessary to his Purpose. Whence then had LUCULLUS the Art? CICERO says, from Genius and Study. He means no more, nor says more. These, he saith, supplied the Defect of Experience, the ordinary Discipline of military Skill. By Study, inquiring of those who were Masters in the Profession, and reading History, he acquired the necessary Materials of the Art; and by his Parts he wrought up those Materials into that Perfection of Art, which produced the finished General, in all that Variety, which he describes in the Beginning of the Third Paragraph, *Tantus ergo Imperator in omni genere belli*, &c. which the Reader had before *. What, in his Parts, was of especial Service to him, and indeed furnished his Sagacity with Materials always in Readiness, was a very extraordinary natural Faculty of remembering Things, to*

* P. 291

which

which he added the *Art of Memory*; so that his Memory, to him, was the same Record which monumental Inscriptions are to Posterity. This is the Meaning of CICERO, the Connexion and Order of his Thoughts, from the Period where he ends the Account of the Course of LUCULLUS's Life, before the *Mithridatic* War, and his Want of Experience sufficient to form the General he was, to the Place before-mentioned, where he shews how *great* a General he was. The summary View is—"But a certain Greatness of Genius beyond Belief, did not want the slow Discipline of Experience. To this was it owing, that having spent his whole Journey and Voyage partly in making Inquiry of those who were Masters in their Professions, partly in reading History, he arrived in *Asia* a GENERAL, having set out from *Rome* a NOVICE in the military Art. For he had a Faculty of remembering *Things*, that seemed something beyond Man.—With such a Genius LUCULLUS joined the Art of Memory—So that just as we *stamp* with *Letters* what we intend for Monuments to Posterity, "he had Things *ingraved* on his Mind." Hence it was that he was so great a General, &c. *

* The Whole of the Passage from the Beginning I
P have

I have translated *rudis* a *Novice*, but his Lordship seems to have *narrow'd* CICERO'S Meaning, as much as he has *extended* PLU-

have transcribed for the Reader's Ease. *Magnum ingenium L. Luculli, magnumque optimarum artium studium, tum omnis liberalis & digna homine nobili ab eo percepta doctrina, quibus temporibus florere in foro maxime potuit, caruit omnino rebus humanis. Ut enim urbanus, admodum adolescens cum fratre, pari pietate & industria prædito, paternas inimicitias magna cum gloria est persecutus* [This was accusing him, who had accused his Father, *Servilius* the Augur, as we learn from *Plutarch*] *in Asiam quaestor factus, ibi per multos annos admirabili quadam laude provinciae præfuit: deinde absens factus ædilis, continuo prætor: (licebat enim celerius legis præmio, Syl-la's Law, by which those who had served under him were exempted from the stated Interval between the Magistracies) post in Africam: inde ad consulatum: quem ita gessit, ut diligentiam admirerentur omnes, ingenium agnoscerent. Post ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium, quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum.*

Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non ADMODUM expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quaesturæ diuturnum tempus, murenæ bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usus disciplinam: Itaque cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percunctando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis, in Asiam factus IMPERATOR venit, cum esset Româ profectus rei militaris RUDIS. Habuit enim divinam quandam memoriam rerum—Tali ingenio præditus Lucullus adjunxit etiam memoriæ disciplinam. Itaque ut literis consignamus, quæ monumentis mandare volumus: sic ille in animo res insculptas habebat.

Tantus ergo imperator, &c. Academ. L. iv. Parag. 1, 2.

TARCH'S;

TARCH's; taking it for one *quite ignorant*, who knew *nothing at all* of the Matter, and had not seen an Army, or ever made a single Campaign. But this is neither in the Etymology, or Use of the Word, the Meaning of RUDIS: 'Tis opposed to ERUDITUS, and CICERO frequently uses it *, coupled with *Tyro*, when a Person, and *inchoatus*, unpolished, or unfinished, when a Thing is spoken of; and it here stands in Opposition to IMPERATOR, as *Tyro* would. Had his Lordship been as intent on *Truth* as on *himself*, he would, as a Critic, upon the Appearance of Contradiction between the *Roman* and the *Greek*, have inquired, whether, tho' this Sense of *rudis* was not the *usual* and *trite* Sense, it had not, however, *sometimes* that Sense, which would have *reconciled the Difference*; and if it had not, and the Two were really *irreconcilable*, he would have been obliged, as a Critic too, to have followed the *cotemporary* Authority: For as to the *Improbability, in itself*, of the Skill of the Commander being acquired with-

* *Non provinciæ rudis erat & tyro.* In ver. 112. a. *Orator nulla in re tyro nec rudis esse debet.* De Orat. 103. b. *Quæ pueris nobis inchoata & rudia exciderunt.* De Cler. Or. 192. b. Ad Oram.

out previous Experience, the very Instance, which PLUTARCH furnishes, of LUCULLUS's *maritime Command*, without any *maritime Experience*, would have been an Instance against him. As to his Lordship's new and acute Discovery, that this was *wilful Falsification* in CICERO, too much has been said of it already to need any more to be said. 'Tis the more remarkable, that he should take no Notice of this Sense of the Roman's Words, when his old-Friend *Casaubon*, who has furnished him with several good Things, and indeed the very Passage itself, could, if his Lordship had been *disposed to see it*, have furnished him with this Sense of *these Words*, when he is using the other Words of CICERO on this Occasion*.

But CICERO has taken no Notice at all of even this *very moderate Experience* of LUCULLUS, as PLUTARCH has. He had no Occasion. He was not writing the Life of LUCULLUS; he was setting his great Parts

* *Postremum indocilem usus disciplinam desiderat, ad quod nulla historię lectio, nulla meditatio per se, nisi modica saltem accedat exercitatio, potest aspirare.* Casaub. Dedic. Polyb. p. 7. So that his Lordship has really abused *Casaubon* for understanding *Cicero's* Words in the same Sense he did, when *Casaubon* understood them in another and their true Sense.

and.

and Abilities to View; and, in particular, that he owed his military Skill and Glory to his Parts, and not as in common Geniuses to *Experience*: It was sufficient to the Purpose to shew that he had not the *usual* Experience, and that he had spent his Youth in forensic Studies: And notwithstanding he was so long in *Asia*, all the time in Peace. A Campaign or two in his Youth is not inconsistent with CICERO's Expression *consumpserrat*, which regards the general Tenor of his Youth; no more than the Expedition of a few Days against *Mitylene* is with the spending the long Time of his *Quæstorship* in *Asia*, in Peace. 'Tis sufficient that he suggests to the Reader, that, tho' *Murena* was making War at that time against *Mithridates* in *Pontus*, LUCULLUS was in *Asia* all the time, and had no Share in it. And to what Purpose was he to mention the maritime Expeditions under SYLLA before that, when the Experience of those contributed no more to form the *General*, than if he had been all the while at *Rome*. Thus are CICERO and PLUTARCH intirely *reconcilable*; and the Falschhood, or rather *Mistake*, for as it was not wilful, it cannot be more, which he charges upon

upon TULLY, falls upon Lord *Bolingbroke* himself.

What now upon the Whole are we to say of the EXACTNESS of Lord *Bolingbroke* in this Critique? The *Colouring* is not only too strong to give a *true* Portrait, but the Features are so perverted, that the Picture becomes a *Transformation* instead of a *Portrait*. The Reading is so *careless*, that it cannot be accounted for by the *Volatility* and *Indolence* of a Genius of his Lordship's Turn; but we must be forced to have Recourse to the BLINDING PASSIONS of such a Genius, to *Passion for the Fame of superior Genius* and *Penetration*, and, in order thereto, for the *new* and *uncommon* in every thing; to a *Passion* so *extravagant*, as to discover, in an Object of *so little Fame* as that of this Critique, all that IMPETUOSITY of PASSION, which will not suffer the MIND to *examine*, to attend to any thing but the flattering Object before it, which takes it off from every View that seems to make against the Gratification, and furiously overturns every thing which stands in the Way of its Career; Characters, received Opinions, *Truth itself*,
and

[III]

and all *Regard to Decency*: An *Impetuosity* which one would not have expected, but in some *higher* Objects of Glory, *new Ethics*, *new Philosophy*, *new Religion*, in some *favourite grand Scheme*, with respect to these. If these Faults, which must ruin the Credit of every Work into which they enter, together with that of the Author, are so GLARING in so LITTLE a Subject, and so FREQUENT in so SHORT a one, so GENERAL indeed that they glare in every Particular, WITHOUT EXCEPTING ONE, what is to be expected in Subjects of ETHICS, PHILOSOPHY, and RELIGION?

S E C T. IX.

ONE thing, and, much to my Reader's Satisfaction, I doubt not, *but one* thing, more remains, the GENERAL TURN OF LORD BOLINGBROKE'S CRITIQUES: I mean *here* (for to this my Design confines me) on *Bodin*, *Amyot*, *La Mothe le Vayer*, *Casaubon*, *Cicero*, the late Duke of *Marlborough*, that is, on all, I think, he has Occasion in this critical Episode to speak of. The general Treatment of them all puts me in mind of the Free-think-

er's Observation on the natural Gradation of *Vanity*: " By a natural and insensible Gradation, Consciousness of superior Parts is apt to grow into *Vanity*, *Vanity* into *Pride*, *Pride* into *Dogmatism*, and, if *Malevolence* be added, into *rancorous Sarcasm and Abuse*:" But 'tis to TULLY, and the Duke of MARLBOROUGH more especially, that we are now to direct our Thoughts.

LUCULLUS serves more Purposes than one: The illustrious Antient is brought in not only to grace the *Triumph* of Lord Bolingbroke, and sooth the *Vanity* of discovering what no one else could do; but to depreciate the Character of as illustrious a Modern, by the Contrast, and thereby gratify an old Grudge of the Critic's. Else why so much *Bitterness* bursting out, in spite of Endeavours to repress it? " THE LATE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH NEVER READ XENOPHON, MOST CERTAINLY;" nor most certainly the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, without a Translation, " NOR THE RELATION, perhaps, of any modern Wars *." What a contemptible Idea is here given! To the Advantage of the Modern it is indeed

* P. 21.

justly observed, that " he triumphed not
 " over *Asiatic* Troops, but the veteran Ar-
 " mies of *France*:" But 'tis not the *Victo-*
ries, but the *Mind*, the *Character*, of the
 Conqueror, which is to *sully all the Glory* of
 all his *Victories*, that is the Object of Lord
Bolingbroke's Satire. How *virulent* the
 Poignard, concealed under *Generals*, which
 is directed against that great Man, let those
 Words, which I can never read without In-
 dignation at the *Motive* as well as the *Injury*,
 testify; where, after saying, that *such Ex-*
amples of Genius and Experience without
 Study are very rare, and they would have
 come nearer Perfection with it, he adds, " IF
 " THE MINDS OF SUCH MEN HAD BEEN
 " ENLARGED, AND THEIR SENTIMENTS
 " ENNOBLED," by the Study of History.
 NARROWNESS OF MIND, AND MEANNESS
 OF SENTIMENTS, which *no Honours* could
ennoble, are the Wounds given, without par-
 ticularizing or hinting at the Reason of such
 malignant Satire. The Poison seems, how-
 ever, to be drawn from one *Blemish*, which
 the Character of *Lucullus* suggested; and
 perhaps was the real Reason of introducing
 him to contrast the Duke of *Marlborough*.
 They were both of great Genius, and had

both little military Experience before they were placed at the Head of great Armies : One had great Learning, the other little : The Time they commanded was pretty near the same in both : Both were alike despoiled of their Commands by the Intrigues of opposite Factions : Both alike amassed prodigious Treasures, the sure Perquisites of Conquest in rich Countries ; but they made very different Use of them after their Retreat : *Lucullus*, in a *Magnificence* and *Luxury*, that was unknown in *Rome* before ; the Duke of *Marlborough*, in raising a *Fortune*, that should support his Posterity in that *Dignity* and *distinguished Rank* among the *Nobility*, which he had by as *distinguished Services* to his Country deserved. Is the *Magnificence* and *Luxury* of *Lucullus* that *Largeness* of *Mind*, and *Nobleness* of *Sentiments*, for the Want of which he wounds the Character of the Duke of *Marlborough*? If he had not this in View, 'tis not easy to say what he had. But if the *Antient* had been in the same Situation with the *Modern*, had been the FOUNDER OF A FAMILY, 'tis probable he would have made a different Use of his Treasures ; at least he would have done *wisely* in doing so. Lord *Bolingbroke*, indeed, seems

to have had a View here to the *ennobling* his own *Sentiments*. No Man had a greater Contempt of Money than Lord *Bolingbroke*; a Contempt in *spending* it, tho' not in *getting* it: And the Expedition to *Canada* will ever afford too strong a Suspicion, that, with respect to the *latter*, he was but a *common Man* *. To be above *ignoble Means of getting*, is the proper Proof of *ennobled Sentiments*. In this, what Difference between *Cicero*, Governor of *Cilicia*, who has been treated with such Contempt, and Lord *Bolingbroke*, Secretary of State of *Great Britain*? As to the *Largeness of Mind* in *spending* Money, without *considering how*, 'tis what the Child and Rake share in common with Lord *Bolingbroke*. If Recrimination be ever justifiable, 'tis on such Occasions as these. But I must not omit one *affecting Instance* in the Parallel of the two military Heroes, which may serve to shew how those, whose great Abilities have been the *Objects* of *Envy*, come at last sometimes to be the *Subjects* of *Pity*. Great as was the *Genius* of both, they both outlived their *Understandings*.

* *Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke*, p. 212.

Whether Lord *Bolingbroke* had Obligations of Gratitude to the Duke of *Marlborough*, which he sacrificed to *Resentment*, as he seems to have done the Character of *Cicero* to his *Vanity*, I know not. His Enemies have often said, that he owed his *first* Rise to the Favour and Patronage of that great Man: His Friends have denied it, and said that he acted independently, and only as an Associate. This is certain, however, that he afterwards acted as warmly *against* him, as he ever had done *with* him, and carried his *Resentment* beyond the Grave. Two Things are evident likewise from this *Episode* of his Lordship, that he intermixes his *Passions* with Inquiry after Truth, another of the Freethinker's Characteristics; and that his Friends have no Right to hold over his Grave, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, who was in his Life-time ever trampling on the Ashes of those who were gone before.

It may be said, that Lord *Bolingbroke* has, in other Places, treated *Cicero's* Memory with more Decency; as when he says, "*Cicero* would hardly have unmasked in a formal studied History, as freely as in familiar occasional Letters, *Pompey*, *Cato*,
"*Brutus*,

“ *Brutus*, nay *himself*, the *Four Men* of
 “ *Rome*, on whose *Praises* he dwelt with
 “ *the greatest Complacency*.” I own here the
good Humour of the *Ridicule*, and as such it
 gives no Offence. But I ask, whence it is
 that his Lordship here *laughs*, in the Critique
rails? In one he has no Object of *literary*
Fame before him, to which *Cicero* is to fall
 a *Sacrifice*; in the other he has. This,
 therefore, does but furnish another Proof of
 the *Fury of the Passion*. In another Place,
 by way of Atonement, he seems to have ta-
 ken the Opportunity of doing Justice to the
general Character, to make use of his own
 Words, “ of that great Man, whose *particu-*
 “ *lar* Failing he had been censuring so free-
 “ ly,” by re-applying to him a Passage of
Arellius Fuscus: “ As long as there shall re-
 “ main a Race of Men, as long as any Use
 “ of Letters, *Honour* shall be the Reward of
 “ the highest Eloquence: As long as either
 “ the Fortune of our Country shall maintain
 “ its Ground, or the Memory of it last, thy
 “ Genius wonderful to Posterity shall flou-
 “ rish; and tho’ proscribed in *one* Age, thou
 “ shalt proscribe *Antony* in all †.” This is
 true,

† Quoad humanum genus incolume manserit, quamdiu
 usus literis, honor summæ eloquentiæ pretium erit:
 quam-

true, but it is as true too, that Lord *Bolingbroke* seems, in the same Paragraph, not to have forgot, as indeed he was not apt to do, HIMSELF. I do not mean the little Piece of literary Art, of *making the most of Things*, by making his young Reader stare at the Name of an Author he never heard of before, to which his Lordship may be thought to have condescended (for 'tis certain if he had added, in *Seneca's Declamations* *, it would not have looked half so grand); but I intend a previous Observation, which he had given his *Disciple Lord Cornbury*, and now has given the World, and which seems to have been originally made for the *Master's own* Consolation, or Honour. “ The *Villain*, who has
 “ imposed on Mankind by his *Power* or
 “ *Cunning*, and whom Experience could not
 “ unmask for a time, is unmasked at length;
 “ and the *honest Man*, who has been misunder-
 “ stood, or defamed, is justified before his
 “ *Story ends*.” This was writ in 1735, or thereabouts. “ Or if this does not happen,

quamdiu reipublicæ nostræ (so it should be, not *rerum natura*, as Lord *Bolingbroke* from Slip of Memory has it) *aut fortuna steterit, aut memoria duraverit*, admirabile posteris vigebis ingenium, & uno proscriptus seculo, *proscribes Antonium omnibus*. Lett. Hist. p. 39.

* M. Seneca, Suafor. ult.

“ if

“ if, the *Villain* dies with his Mask on, in
 “ the midst of *Applause, and Honour, and*
 “ *Wealth, and Power, and if the honest*
 “ *Man dies under the same Load of CA-*
 “ *LUMNY and DISGRACE under which he*
 “ *lived, DRIVEN PERHAPS INTO EXILE,*
 “ AND EXPOSED TO WANT, yet we see hi-
 “ storical Justice executed, the Name of the
 “ one *branded with Infamy*, and that of the
 “ other *celebrated with Panegyric* to suc-
 “ ceeding Ages *.” The *honest Man*, with
 just so much Suffering as suited his own
 Case, is so descriptive of *himself*, that it will
 be no *Strain*, I presume, to *suppose* that he
 had here an Eye to *himself*. Nor does it re-
 quire the Sagacity of Lord *Bolingbroke* to dis-
 cover who here sat for the Picture of the
Villain: As long as the Memory of Lord
Bolingbroke’s other political Writings about
 this time, and the *Dissertation on Parties* re-
 main, the World will not be at a Loss for a
 Comment. We see here then Lord *Boling-*
broke supporting his Spirits at the worst with
posthumous Panegyric to succeeding Ages, and
 gratifying his Resentment with the *posthu-*
mous Infamy of his Enemy. And do the
 Friends of Lord *Bolingbroke*, did he him-

* Lett. Hist. p. 38.

self,

E

self, think the Address of *Arellius Fuscus* to the *Manes* of *Cicero*, the *summa eloquentia*, and the *admirabile ingenium*, too panegyric for his Lordship? and can they not find a *British Modern*, to answer to the *Roman Anthony*, or any Writing of his Lordship, that shall return the Proscription of the Chairman of the Secret Committee at the time of his Fall, with a *Proscription of the Proscriber to all future Times*?

If the Reader is of Opinion, that Lord *Bolingbroke* has here no View at all to himself, I shall not contend the Point; I should have rejoiced to have seen him doing the same to the *insulted Modern*, as to the *Antient*; *Recompence* for *Injury* being the Characteristic of a *great Mind*, and *Distinction* of it from the *obstinate Mind*. It was in his Power, almost Twenty Years together, to have *forbore* the Injury, by *striking out the injurious Paragraph*; but as that intoxicating *Vanity*, which, whenever his Imagination sprung any thing new to flatter it, would not suffer him to *examine*, so *Pride* would not suffer him to *review*, what Lord BOLINGBROKE had once wrote. This *Pride* has been observed before; but here is MALICE,

LICE, *the gratifying an old Grudge against a former Friend, if not a Patron; which neither the pitiable Circumstances of that great Man for some Years before his Death, nor his Death for many Years before Lord Bolingbroke wrote, could leniate. He COULD NOT FORGIVE: He could not forbear an Opportunity of pulling down the Glory of the great Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and branding his Memory to latest Posterity: For that Lord Bolingbroke's Writings would exist so late, Lord Bolingbroke could make no doubt. Nor do I see how this Imputation can be eluded, unless by saying that it is not Malice to the Duke of MARLBOROUGH; but—MALEVOLENCE TO MANKIND, or, what is almost as bad — ENVY AT SUPERIOR MERIT, AND MORE ELEVATED STATION. 'Tis not impossible, that, in such a Mind, the Reason Lord Bolingbroke could never forgive the Duke of Marlborough might be, that he raised him, or was said to have raised him. I hope I have not carried these Reflections too far; if I have, it is owing to a generous Resentment against Reflections on the Memory of such great Men, which I am sure are carried much too far.*

Upon the Whole, I find in myself no Hesitation, from these Instances, to conclude, what they naturally suggest, that Lord Bolingbroke's *Thirst for the Glory of a superior Genius* puts him ever on the Quest after the *New and Unobserved*; that when his natural Sagacity has sprung any Game, he never loses Sight of it, pursues it *per fas & nefas*, without EXAMINING as he goes along, or REVIEWING after—That his own DECISIONS are MAXIMS with him; and that the Impressions of his *Youth* grow deeper with his *Years*. Now this does really include in it, instead of those glorious Characters, the *Love of Truth, Regard to Justice*, and the *public Good*, the *sacrificing all of them* to a mere *selfish Passion*; for such the Desire of the *Fame of superior Genius* is. The Consequence of this Desire, thus gratified, is a PRIDE, rising in proportion to the Instances with which the *Vanity* is gratified, and *Conceit of Superiority* to other Men increased; which is ever shewing itself in a *contemptuous Treatment* of even the *greatest Names*, and a *Bitterness* against those, of whom he has conceived a disadvantageous Impression: Which could not be, unless this *Pride*, or the *Disappointments of Life*, or both, had

corrupted the natural Temper into a *general Malevolence* *.

How far Lord *Bolingbroke* is intitled to the Description of the Freethinker, with which I shall close my Examination, the Reader must judge: “ In such a State of Mind, the
 “ Man’s *Opinions*, instead of being the Result of *free Inquiry*, are the mere *Dictates*
 “ of his *Passions* and *early Prejudices*, or
 “ those which rose *afterwards* from his *Passions* and adventitious *Connexions* and
 “ *Oppositions* of Life: And, in such a
 “ Writer, the *Representations* of Persons
 “ and Things will not be according to their
 “ Nature, but according to the Degree of
 “ *Approbation* or *Dislike* they happen to have
 “ with him.” The Use that I shall make of all that has been said, is only this Caution to the Reader, with which I shall take my Leave of him—Whenever he is struck with Lord *Bolingbroke*’s Authority on any Subject, his *Affertions*, or his *Censures*, let him remember the CRITIQUE OF CICERO AND THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

* *Miscell. Observat.* p. 95, &c.

F I N I S.

